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THE

HISTORY

OF THE PROPAGATION

OF

CHRISTIANITY

AMONG

The Heathen

SINCE

The Reformation.

By The Rev. WILLIAM BROWN, M. D.

IN TWO VOLUMES.

VOL. I.

First American, from the last London Edition.

NEW-YORK:

PUBLISHED BY E. LOW, NO. 24 CATHERINE-STREET.

1816.

NEW-YORK :
Printed by Thomas P. Low.

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PREFACE.

THE propagation of Christianity in the world, is the most important subject which can engage the attention of a historian. The rise, the progress, and the downfall of empires; the discovery of unknown countries; the lives of philosophers, of senators, of princes; the improvements of the arts and sciences, may furnish useful and interesting materials for history; but nothing is so momentuous as the diffusion of the gospel in the world, which at once brings "glory to God in the highest, peace on earth, and good will towards man." The transcendent importance of this subject is stamped by no less than Divine authority. In the New Testament, we have only two branches of history; the Gospels, containing the life of our Lord and Saviour Jesus Christ,

and the Acts of the Apostles, exhibiting a view of the propagation of Christianity in the world.

It is not improbable, indeed, that some will think the following work should have commenced with the Christian æra; but as, from the period of the Apostolic age, until the Reformation, the materials are in general extremely scanty and uninteresting, and as the principal facts have already been detailed nearly at full length, by our ordinary ecclesiastical historians, the Author considered it as unnecessary for him to repeat what had so often been written before.

Others, perhaps, will think that he should have given an account of the Roman Catholic, as well as of the Protestant missions; but if it be considered that Popery is Anti-christian in its nature, it will appear obvious, that the extension of such a system, had little or no claim to be introduced in a work, the object of which was to exhibit a view of the propagation of Christianity since the Reformation. Besides, the Roman Catholic missions have been so numerous, so extensive, and of such long standing, that had the Author included

them in his plan, the work, instead of consisting of two, would have extended to five or six volumes; a circumstance which would probably have excited no slight feeling of repugnance in the minds of most of his readers.

The Author, however, has deeply to regret, that, even with regard to the propagation of Christianity by the Reformed Churches, his work is, in some instances, materially defective. This is particularly the case with respect to the Danish, and several of the Moravian missions. In writing the history of the Danish mission in the East Indies, it was not in his power to procure the Reports of the Society for promoting Christian Knowledge, and still less the accounts of that mission which are annually published in Germany; and as he was anxious not to withhold any information which he did possess, he has, in his account of it, indulged in a looseness of narration, by no means consistent with historical precision. In other instances, there is a considerable disproportion in the several parts of the narrative; while some events are detailed at full length, others of equal or greater

importance are slightly passed over. These things he is sensible require an apology; but, in fact, they were in a great measure unavoidable in the present state of our information, relative to the propagation of Christianity among the Heathen.

London, March 1st, 1814.

HISTORY

OF THE

PROPAGATION OF CHRISTIANITY

AMONG THE

HEATHEN.

CHAPTER FIRST.

PROPAGATION OF CHRISTIANITY BY THE SWISS.

AT the Reformation, the light of the gospel burst forth on the nations of Europe, like the sun in the morning after a dark night. By degrees, it spread from country to country, and dispelled the shades of ignorance and error, in which they had been enveloped for a series of ages. Fired with a sacred zeal for the cause of religion, the reformers followed superstition to her most secret haunts, brought her forth to the view of the world, and exposed her in all her native deformity. In the prosecution of this object, they were appalled, neither by difficulties nor dangers: they triumphed while stretched on the rack; they sung in the midst of the fire. By the vigorous efforts which they made, the authority of the Pope was shaken to its centre; his throne was seen to

totter; and ever since that period, his influence has been diminished, even in those countries which continued to acknowledge his spiritual sway.

Engaged in propagating the light of the gospel through the benighted kingdoms of Christendom, the reformers could scarcely be expected to direct their attention to the heathen world. But notwithstanding the magnitude of their other exertions, this object was not entirely over looked by them. In 1556, fourteen Protestant missionaries namely, Philip Corgviller, Peter Richer, William Charters, Peter Bordonne, Matthew Verneville, John Bordele, Andrew Font, Nicolas Dyonysius, John Gardienne, Martin David, Nicolas Ravequet, James Rufus, Nicolas Carmille, and John James Levius, were sent by the church of Geneva to plant the Christian faith in the lately discovered regions of America. *(a)* What measures they pursued for this purpose, or what success attended their labours, we do not certainly know. Dr. Mosheim, the celebrated historian, thinks there can be no doubt that these were the persons whom the illustrious Admiral de Coligni invited into France, when, about this period, he proposed planting a colony of Protestants in the Brazils, and some other parts of America. *(b)* If this conjecture be correct, (and certainly it is by no means improbable), it is likely the mission would be involved in the same fate as the colony, and so must have been of short duration. Henry the Second, King of France, having approved of the proposal, Coligni made choice of Nicolas Durand de Villegagnon, Knight of St. John of Jerusalem, and Vice-Admiral of Bretagne, to superintend the execution of it. Villegagnon was a man of merit, and as he had embraced the reformed religion as well as the Admiral, he had no objections to be employed in the undertaking which had

(a) Picteti Orat. de Trophæis Christi *in* Fabricii Lux Salutaris Evangelii toti orbi exoriens, p. 586.

(b) Mosheim's Ecclesiastical History, vol. iv. p. 158.

for its object, not only the acquisition of a part of the Brazil to the crown of France, but the securing of a place of refuge to the Protestants, who were at that time proscribed and persecuted in their own country. Having afterwards, however, abandoned the reformed religion, and returned to the bosom of the Church of Rome he laid a foundation for the destruction of the whole colony. The Portuguese, who were already settled in Brazil, being alarmed by the preference shewn by the natives for the French, took advantage of the division which the return of the Vice-Admiral to the Romish faith occasioned among the colonists; and in order to set themselves at rest, they villanously murdered all those who remained in the country after his departure. *(c)* Such was the fatal termination of the French settlement in Brazil. The primary object of Coligni in this enterprize seems rather to have been the securing an asylum for his Protestant brethern from persecution in their own country, than the conversion of the heathen; though, it is not improbable, this might be a secondary end which he had in view.

(c) Charlevoix Histoire de la Nouvelle France, tom i. p. 35.

CHAPTER SECOND.

PROPAGATION OF CHRISTIANITY BY THE SWEDES.

Lapland.

IN the year 1559, the celebrated Gustavus Vasa, King of Sweden, sent a missionary of the name of Michael into Lapland, with the view of extending Christianity among the inhabitants of that country; for though it had been introduced among them some ages before the Reformation, yet most of them were still sunk in all the horrors of Pagan ignorance and superstition. His Majesty therefore issued a a royal mandate, ordaining them to assemble at a certain period of the winter, in order to pay their annual tribute, and to receive instructions in the principles of religion.— His successors on the throne of Sweden followed his example in promoting Christianity in Lapland; and about the beginning of the seventeenth century, they were at the expence of erecting churches in different parts of the country, for the accomodation of the miserable inhabitants. Hitherto, however, the labours of the missionaries had been of little use, as they preached in the Swedish language, which the people in general did not understand; while the Lapland youth, who were sent to the university of Upsal, died, either in Sweden, or soon after their return to their own country; and thus the hopes which were formed of them proved abortive. Gustavus Adolphus, therefore, who ascended the throne in 1611, began to establish schools in the country itself; and in order to encourage the people to send their children to them, he allotted a certain sum of money for the maintenance of the scholars, as well as for the support of the teachers. Besides erecting schools for the education of the youth, he ordered some useful books

to be translated from the Swedish into the Lapponese language; and these were afterward followed by others of still greater importance. In 1648, a Manuel was printed at Stockholm, containing the Psalms of David, the Proverbs of Solomon, the book of Ecclesiasticus, Luther's Catechism, Sacred Hymns, and the Lessons from the Gospels and Epistles, with the History of Christ's Passion, and of the Destruction of Jerusalem, the Ritual, and various forms of prayers, translated into the Lapponese language, by John Tornæus, minister of Torna. In 1669, Olaus Stephen Graan, a native minister of Lapland, published a work under a similar title, containing the Lessons from the Gospels and Epistles, the Collects, the Ritual, the History of Christ's Passion, and some prayers. It differs from the other chiefly in this, that the language is nearer the dialect of the Lapmark of Uma and Pitha. *(a)* About a century more was allowed to elapse before the whole of the New Testament was put into the hands of the Laplanders. It was first published in the year 1755. Part of the impression was sold, and part given away, to encourage them to diligence in reading. *(b)*

The inhabitants of Swedish Lapland have, of late, been estimated at about ten thousand; and it is said, that most of them when young are taught to read; though, afterwards, for want of books, they often forget what little learning they have acquired in early life. *(c)* In order, therefore, still further to supply the want of the Holy Scriptures in that country, the British and Foreign Bible Society, instituted in London in 1804, have been at the expence of publishing a large edition of the New Testament in the Lapponese language, consisting of five thousand copies. This work was completed in the year 1811, and one half of the impression was immediately sent to the different ports in the vicinity of

(a) Scheffer's History of Lapland, 1704, p. 60, 63, 65, 67, 72; Fabricii Lux Salutaris, p. 598.

(b) Missionary Magazine, vol. xiv. p. 377. *(c)* Ibid.

Swedish Lapland, from whence, by the special orders of government, copies were forwarded, free of expence, by inland carriers, and distributed in fair proportions among the various parishes of that extensive country. *(d)*

But though it is now between two and three centuries since the Swedes began to extend the gospel in Lapland, yet hitherto it has made little progress. The inhabitants, it is true, are professed Christians; but their Christianity is merely nominal, and among some of them the form of it may be sought in vain. Traces of their having offered sacrifices to the gods of their fathers are occasionally discovered among them; though, when questioned on the subject, they usually deny the charge. Few of them reside in the neighbourhood of the churches; and, indeed, they seldom attend them, unless on the solemn festivals, or at a fair, when they have the sacraments administered to them. The clergy, such as they are, go little among them, except during their short summers: they also carefully attend the winter markets to receive their pay, and to supply them with spirituous liquors, of which the Laplanders are immoderately fond, and of which it is said, they can drink an enormous quantity without being intoxicated. *(e)*

(d) Report of the British and Foreign Bible Society, 1812, p. 2. Appendix, p. 43, 88.—The Russian government has also issued a proclamation authorising the importation of the Lapponese New Testaments into Russian Lapland. Measures have likewise been adopted to facilitate the distribution of a thousand copies in Danish Lapland.—*Report Brit. and For. Bib. Soc.* 1812, p. 3.

(e) Missionary Magazine, vol. xiv. p. 419.—Periodical Accounts relative to the Missions of the United Brethern, vol. p. 203.—Scheffer, p. 83.

CHAPTER THIRD.

PROPAGATION OF CHRISTIANITY BY THE DUTCH.

SECTION I.

CEYLON.

IN the beginning of the seventeenth century, the inhabitants of the United Provinces, after having thrown off the yoke of Spain, carried their victorious arms into the East, and wrested from the crown of Portugal some of her most valuable possessions in that quarter of the world. Among these was the island of Ceylon, the whole coast of which, after some time, fell into their hands, while the interior of the country remained under the dominion of the native princes. As the Portuguese, while it was in their possession, had endeavoured to convert the inhabitants to the church of Rome, so the Dutch now attempted to convert them to the Protestant faith; but, unfortunately, the measures they employed for this purpose were not, in every respect, so judicious as the end was laudable. Besides settling ministers and erecting schools in the island, they issued a proclamation, ordaining, that no native should be raised to the rank of a modelear, or admitted to any employment under the government, unless he subscribed the Helvetic Confession of Faith, and professed himself a member of the Reformed church. This absurd and impolitic order, so well calculated to make the people hypocrites, not Christians, was attended with complete success. The higher ranks of the natives, and all who aspired after either dignity or office, immediately professed to abandon the religion of their fore-

fathers, and to embrace the faith of their conquerors. *(a)* Even those who under the Portuguese government had become members of the church of Rome, now forsook her communion, and joined the Reformed church. *(b)* But while the Dutch endeavoured to bring the Cingalese to the profession of Christianity, the qualifications they required in the catechumens were so very slender, that the most of them, it is probable, were little superior, either in knowledge or practice, to the Popish converts in Pagan countries. Nothing more was demanded of them, than that they should learn to repeat the Lord's prayer, the ten commandments, a morning and evening prayer, and a grace before and after meat.—When the ministers, in the course of their visitations, were certified by the schoolmaster, that the poor Pagans had committed these things to memory, (for they themselves were ignorant of their language,) they proceeded to baptize them without further ceremony! *(c)* It is not wonderful, therefore, though the Dutch converts should resemble the Roman Catholic in number as well as in character. In 1663, according to the church registers, there were in the district of Jaffanapatnam alone, 62,558 men and women who professed the Christian faith, exclusive of the slaves, of whom there were 2,587; the number of children who had been baptized, within a few years, amounted to 12,387. *(d)* But these numbers, large as they are, were greatly augmented in a short time. In 1688, the inhabitants of this district amounted to 278,759, of whom there were no fewer than 180,364 who made a profession of Christianity; and of these, it is said, about 40,000 had been converted within the last four years.

(a) Cordiner's Description of Ceylon, vol. i. p. 155.

(b) Conference of the Danish Missionaries, p. 347.

(c) Mather's Ecclesiastical History of New-England, book iii. p. 195.

(d) Baldæus' Description of the Coasts of Malabar, Coromandel, and Ceylon, *in* Churchhill's Collection of Voyages and Travels, vol. iii. p. 572.

Towards the close of the seventeenth century, the celebrated Dr. Leusden informs us, that the Dutch ministers in Ceylon had baptized about 300,000 of the natives; and in 1720, Vischer, one of the ministers at Batavia, says that in that island the number of Protestants was daily increasing, and that without doubt there were some hundred thousands of the natives who had embraced the Christian faith. *(e)*

In the education of the Cingalese youth, the Dutch appear to have employed wiser and more beneficial measures. The whole of their possessions on the island were divided into two hundred and forty churchships or parishes, in each of which one Protestant school was erected. A seminary was likewise established for the instruction of native youths of promising talents, in the Dutch language, in order that, by obtaining through the medium of it more extensive knowledge, they might be better qualified to labour as schoolmasters, catechists, and preachers, among their countrymen. Some were even sent to Europe, where they received a more complete education, and returned to the island ordained to the ministry. In each school, there were from three to four teachers, according to the number of the scholars; and over every ten schools, there was a catechist, whose office it was to visit them once a month, to inquire into the conduct of the teachers, to examine the progress of the scholars, and to exhort them both to diligence. But, in order still further to ensure due attention to the education of the youth, a greater number of the schools was placed under the superintendence of the Dutch minister of the district, who was appointed to visit them once a year. There were generally from twelve to fifteen clergymen on the island; and there were nine of these who were intrusted with this important office. Amidst all the care of the Dutch for the education of the youth, it is a singular circumstance, that the girls were totally neglected;

(e) Millar's History of the Propagation of Christianity, vol. ii. pp. 474, 478.

it was judged enough for them, if they were able to repeat a certain number of prayers, and to explain the catechism and creed, before they were allowed to be married. *(f)* *

(f) Buchanan's Christian Researches, 3d Edit. p. 83. Fabricii Lux Salutaris, p. 591. Cordiner, vol. i. p. 155.

* Baldæus, one of the Dutch ministers, who was a number of years in Ceylon soon after it fell into the possession of the states, informs us, in his "Description of the coasts of Malabar, Coromandel and Ceylon," a work published in Amsterdam in 1672, that in the province of Jaffanapatnam, there were thirty-four native churches, besides those of the Dutch and the Portuguese. Of most of these, indeed, he has given an engraving in that splendid work: and as they served alternately, as a place of worship on the Sabbath, and a schoolhouse through the week, he has given us the following statement of the number of the hearers and scholars who attended them:

Churches.	*Hearers.*	*Scholars.*	*Churches.*	*Hearers.*	*Scholars.*
Telipole, -	2000	1000	Warranni, -	2500	800
Mallagam, -	600	200	Tenmarache,	1150	650
Maylette, -	1550	750	Catavelli, -	1100	600
Achiavelli, -	800	450	Paretiture, -	850	690
Oudewii, -	950	600	Ureputti, -	3000	1000
Batecotte, -	2000	850	Pœlepolay, -	600	300
Paneterpou, -	1250	600	Mogomale, -	500	450
Changane, -	- -	700	Tambarume,	900	500
Mampay, -	750	560	Mulipatto, -	350	215
Vanarporne, -	550	200	Aleputti,		
Nalour, -	- -	590	Welane, -	2600	800
Sundecouli, -	400	450	Ourature,		
Copay,			Caradwa, -	1050	490
Pontour, -	- -	800	Pongardwa, -	800	200
Navacouli, -	750	400	Analativa, -	- -	- -
Chavagatzery,	2500	1000	Nainatwa, -	300	70
Cathay, - -	1150	550	Nindundiva, -	- -	- -

This table we have drawn from Baldæus; and where he has stated different numbers, we have taken the medium between them; but we acknowledge the estimates are in gene-

Besides some other works translated for the use of the natives, the Dutch have published a considerable part of the sacred writings in the Tamul or Malabar language, which is spoken in the north of Ceylon; and also in the Cingalese, which is the common language of the island. *(g)* In 1743, the New Testament in Tamul was printed at Colombo, under the auspices of the Dutch governor. *(h)* Previous to this, the four gospels were translated into Cingalese; and in 1783, the whole of the New Testament, with the books of Genesis, Exodus, and part of Leviticus, were published in that language at Colombo. *(i)* These, with a version of the Psalms of David, are the whole of the sacred writings which have as yet been printed in Cingalese; *(k)* but from the exertions that are now making for translating the Holy Scriptures in the East, it is proba-

(g) Baldæus *in* Churchhill, vol. iii. p. 719.—Transactions of the Missionary Society, vol. ii. p. 434—See also Hodgson's Life of Bishop Porteous, p. 280.—Christian Observer, vol. i. p. 329.

(h) Bibliographical Dictionary, vol. vi. p. 215.

(i) Report British and Foreign Bible Society, 1810, App. p. 86.

(k) Bib. Dict. vol. i. p. 287.

ral so high, as to appear to us scarcely credible. There were at that time only two or three ministers to all these churches; so that they were obliged to travel from place to place, and to preach three sermons every Sabbath, and once on a week day, besides constantly visiting the congregations in the country. Most of the churches being by this means without a minister on the Sabbath, the schoolmaster, to supply this want, used to read a sermon to the people in their own language, for which purpose a certain number of discourses were allotted to each of the churches. With regard to the schools, Baldæus informs us that in 1663, there were in the province of Jaffanapatnam alone, 15,012 Cingalese children who attended them, exclusive of those in Manaar and the country of the Waniar, where, in 1665, there were 1,315. At the time of his departure from the island the children in the schools had increased to 18,000.—*Baldæus* in *Churchhill*, vol. iii. p. 713, 719.

ble, that the whole Bible will soon be printed in that language, especially as a Bible Society has lately been instituted at Colombo, the capital of the island, with a particular view to this object. *(l)*

In 1796 the Dutch possessions on the island of Ceylon surrendered to the arms of the British; and for a considerable time the religious instruction of the natives occupied no part of the attention of their new masters. The European clergymen became prisoners of war; the native catechists and schoolmasters no longer received their salaries; the duties of public worship, and the education of the youth, were either feebly discharged, or entirely neglected; and the memorials presented by the inhabitants on these subjects, were considered by a military commander, either as matters in which he had no concern, or which he had not power to redress. *(m)* Many of the churches now fell to ruins; thousands of the natives, who had once called themselves Christians, relapsed into heathenism; and the prohibition of the Dutch against erecting any new Pagan temples being no longer in force, the number of these was doubled in a short time. *(n)*

After a lapse of near three years, the Honourable Frederick North, the first civil governor who was appointed by his Majesty, arrived at Colombo. Under his administration, the schools were re-established; the Dutch ministers resumed the charge of their congregations; several new preachers were educated in the island; and others still better qualified were brought over from the coast of Coromandel. A very flourishing academy was also established at Colombo, consisting of three different classes of young men, Cingalese, Malabar, and European.

(l) Report British and Foreign Bible Society, 1813, App. p. 62.

(m) Cordiner, vol. i. p. 159.

(n) Proceedings of the Society for Missions to Africa and the East, vol. i.

They were all taught the English as well as the native languages. The Cingalese scholars were the sons of the Modelears, and the people of the first rank in the island, and made no inconsiderable progress in learning. *(o)*

In 1801, the number of native Protestant Christians in the island of Ceylon, according to the general returns in the ecclesiastical department, was upwards of 342,000. *(p)* In the province of Jaffanapatnam, the number of the Protestants was 138,896; while the Pagans were only 11,362, and the Roman Catholics 9,632; making in all a population of 159,890. *(q)* From this statement, it appears, that while the inhabitants had diminished nearly one half, within little more than a century, the proportion of Protestants was materially augmented, though the actual number, indeed, had considerably decreased.

By the same returns, it appears that the number of native schools in the British territories amounted nearly to a hundred and seventy. *(r)* The country was divided into parishes, in each of which there was a school where the native youth were instructed in reading and writing their own language, and in the principles of the Christian religion; and a similar system of superintendence was exercised over them as under the Dutch government. *(s)*

But early in 1803, instructions, in his Majesty's name, were received at Colombo, directing that the annual expence of all the schools on the island should be limited to the sum of L. 1500 sterling; and as this was not more than sufficient to support the academy for instructing the natives in the English language, and the different asylums for the orphans of Europeans, the salaries of all the country schoolmasters

(o) Cordiner, vol. i. p. 161.

(p) Cordiner, vol. i. p. 163.

(q) Christian Observer, vol. i. p. 329.

(r) Cordiner, vol. i. p. 163.

(s) Proceedings of the Society for Missions to Africa and the East, vol. i.

and catechists were once more withdrawn, while the whole saving to the revenue scarcely amounted to the sum of L. 1800 a year. *(t)* We are happy, however, to understand that the schools have, to a certain extent, been again established, chiefly through the instrumentality of Sir Alexander Johnston, chief-justice of Ceylon, whose benevolent exertions promise to be of essential service to the cause of religion in that island. *(u)*

On the whole, however, the state of religion in Ceylon is at present very low. The Dutch ministers who remained on the island, after it was taken by the British, have almost all either died or left the country; and thus the people are now in a great measure destitute of religious instruction. A vast proportion of those who are called Protestant Christians have no ocasion to return to heathenism; for though they have been baptized in the name of Christ, they never were any thing else but Pagans, worshippers of the idol Boddhu. *(w)* Dr. Buchanan, indeed, states it as a well known fact, that, within these few years, upwards of 50,000 of them have joined the church of Rome, owing to the want of ministers of their own communion; and the old Protestant churches, some of which were spacious buildings, are now occupied at pleasure by the Catholic priests from Goa, who have assumed almost undisturbed possession of the island. *(x)*

(t) Cordiner, vol. i. p. 165.

(u) Report of the Missionary Society, 1813, p. 15.

(w) Missionary Transactions, vol. ii. p. 265. vol. iii. p. 344.

(x) Buchanan's Memoir respecting an Ecclesiastical Establishment for India, 2d edit. Dedication.

SECTION II.

JAVA.

HAVING become masters of a great part of Java, the Dutch, in 1621, opened a church in Batavia, *(a)* the capital of the island; but of the progress which they made in converting the natives to Christianity, our accounts are extremely meagre. In 1721, we are informed, that the number of Christians on this island was upwards of 100,000; that, in Batavia, there were two churches, in which public worship was performed in the Dutch language; two in which the Portuguese was employed; and either one or two in which the Malay was used. *(b)* The number of ministers at Batavia, when the list was full, amounted to twelve; but it appears, that of late years at least, they were men nowise distinguished either by their learning or their piety. *(c)*

In propagating Christianity in Java and the neighbouring countries, there is nothing for which the Dutch have been more distinguished, than by their zeal to furnish the inhabitants with the Holy Scriptures. Not many years after the commencement of their labours in this island, the Gospels and other parts of the sacred writings were published in the Malay language, which is spoken not only in Malacca, but through all the adjacent islands. In 1668, the New Testament was printed in that language at Amsterdam, at the expence of the East India Company; and, in 1733, a translation of the whole Bible was published in that city, in Roman characters. This version was afterwards printed in 1758, at Batavia, in five volumes, in the Arabic alphabet, with the

(a) Sermons at the Formation of the Missionary Society, Introduction, p. 16.

(b) Millar, vol. ii.—Fabricii Lux Salutaris, p. 594.

(c) Stavorinus' Voyages to the East Indies, vol. i. p. 305, 306.

addition of the letters peculiar to the Malay, under the direction of the governor-general of the Dutch possessions in the East. As this translation of the Bible is in the idiom of Batavia and Malacca, some have objected to it, that it is not very intelligible in Sumatra, and other Malay countries; but the late Dr. Leyden, whose reputation as an Oriental scholar was so deservedly high, considered it as absolutely impossible to form a version, the style of which would be approved of in every country where Malay was spoken; for so great is the difference of the idiom between the Javanese and the Arabic Malay, that even in the same country, those who are proficients in the one, are often scarcely able to understand the other. *(d)* The Dutch have also printed editions of the sacred writings in the Portuguese language, a corrupt dialect of which is spoken by many of the inhabitants of Java, and of the neighbouring islands, in consequence of their having once been subject to the crown of Portugal. *(e)*

SECTION III.

Amboyna.

AFTER the Dutch began to introduce Christianity into Java, they sent ministers from Batavia to Amboyna, for the purpose of planting it in that island. *(a)* The inhabitants, both Pagans and Mahommedans, submitted to baptism in great numbers; and, in 1686, we are informed, that in the

(d) Le Long Bibliotheca Sacra, tom. i. p. 144.—Bib. Dict. vol. i. 283.—Asiatic Researches, vol. x. p. 188.

(e) Propagation of the Gospel in the East, part ii. p. 15.—Fabricii Lux Salutaris, p. 591.—Niecampii Historia Missionis Evangelicæ, p. 275.

(a) Sermons at the Formation of the Missionary Society, Introduction p. 16.

capital city, one of the ministers had no fewer than 30,000 of the natives under his pastoral care, who had been converted by him to the Christian faith. *(b)* Few Catholic missionaries, we suppose, could boast of a more splendid triumph.

Besides the clergy, the number of whom in the province of Amboyna has since been fixed at three, there were what they called visitors of the sick, and schoolmasters, both stationary and itinerant, who were all supported by the East India Company, and instructed the children of the natives in reading, writing, and psalmody, for which purpose a school was established in every negree.

In 1775, when Stavorinus was at Amboyna, there was only one minister on the island, the others being absent on a church visitation to Banda, and the south-western isles belonging to this government. Public worship in the Malay church was now confined to the reading of a sermon in that language by one of the visitors of the sick, for the minister did not understand it, and had little inclination to learn it.

It had lately been ascertained by a church visitation, that the number of Christians in a part of the places under this government, amounted to 21,124; but of these only 843 were members of the church. Indeed, the superstitious respect which they paid to the ministers, together with a few external forms of religion, were the chief circumstances which distinguished them from the rest of their countrymen. Few of them had a tolerable knowledge of the doctrines of Christianity, or even of the common duties of morality. Unchastity was universal among the women as well as the men; theft was extremely common, and was generally managed with great dexterity; and, like all the Malay tribes, the inhabitants of Amboyna were distinguished by a certain malignity of character. The superstitions of Paganism, indeed, appeared still to maintain their original sway over their benighted minds. When they sailed past a certain hill on the

(b) Millar, vol. ii. p. 475.

coast of Ceram, they used to propitiate the evil spirit, who, they believed, had his residence in that quarter, by setting afloat a few flowers, and a small piece of money in cocoa-nut shells; and if it was the evening, they also put oil into them with little wicks, and set them to burn on the water. After presenting this offering to the demon of the hill, they proceeded on their voyage, satisfied that he would do no harm to them or their vessels. *(c)*

In 1796, when Amboyna was taken possession of by the British, under the command of Admiral Rainier, upwards of 17,000 of the natives were reported to be Protestant Christians; the rest of the inhabitants were Roman Catholics, Mahommedans, and Pagans. *(d)*

SECTION IV.

Formosa.

IN 1634, the Dutch formed a settlement on the western part of Formosa, and erected the fort of Zealand, which secured to them the principal harbour in the island. *(a)* Mr. Robert Junius of Delpht was soon after sent by the senate of the United Provinces, to introduce Christianity among the Pagan inhabitants. Having undertaken this important charge, it is said he took great pains in teaching them the principles of religion; and we are informed, that near 6,000 persons were baptized by him. Besides appointing schoolmasters in different places, by whom about 600 young people were taught to read, he collected the chief heads of religion composed some prayers, and translated certain psalms into

(c) Stavorinus, vol. ii. p. 365, 388.
(d) Edinburgh Encyclopædia, art. Amboyna.
(a) Modern Universal History, vol. viii. p. 49.

the Formosan language. It was chiefly in the northern parts of the island that he carried on these operations; but he also planted churches in twenty-three towns in the south; and after having set pastors over them, he returned to his native country. *(b)*

Besides Junius, several other ministers from Holland laboured in this island; and, in 1661, the Gospels of Matthew and John, translated into the Formosan language by Daniel Gravius, were printed at Amsterdam; and they were followed the next year by a Catechism written by two other persons; *(c)* but it is probable these works never reached Formosa, or, at least, were never of much use to the inhabitants, for about this very period, the Dutch were expelled from the island, under circumstances of peculiar horror, by a Chinese pirate, and a numerous fleet under his command. *(d)* The whole country being overrun by these invaders, such of the Europeans as had not saved themselves by a timely flight, fell into their hands, and were treated with the utmost barbarity. The fortress of Zealand was, at length, reduced to the greatest straits; the soldiers were daily dying of the bloody flux, the scurvy, and the dropsy. In the course of nine months, upwards of sixteen hundred were cut off either by the famine or by the sword, while those who survived were obliged to surrender to the enemy. By these disastrous events, nearly thirty ministers were ruined in their lives, or in their fortunes. Some of them were beheaded, while their wives and many others of their countrymen were carried into slavery. *(e)* In 1682, the grandson of the pirate, who expelled the Dutch from Formosa, was obliged to surrender the island to the Emperor of China, *(f)* in whose hands it has

(b) Sebellii Antidotum Ambitionis *in* Turner's Remarkable Providences, p. 76.

(c) Fabricii Lux Salutaris, p. 595.

(d) Mod. Univ. Hist. vol. viii. p. 499. vol. x. p. 359.

(e) Baldæus *in* Churchhill, vol. iii. p. 572.

(f) Mod. Univ. Hist. vol. viii. p. 507.

ever since remained; so that probably no traces of Christianity are now to be found among the inhabitants.

Besides the converts in these places, the Dutch made a multitude of others in Sumatra, Timor, Celebes, Banda, Ternate, and the neighbouring Molucca islands; *(g)* but we fear they were in no respect superior to those we have already described.

(g) Fabricii Lux Salutaris, p. 594.—Niecampii Hist. p. 275.—Paget's Christianographie, p. 275.

CHAPTER FOURTH.

PROPAGATION OF CHRISTIANITY BY THE ANGLO-AMERICANS.

SECTION I.

Massachusetts Colony.

AFTER the House of Stuart ascended the throne of England, the tyranny of the government, both in church and state, became so violent and intolerable, that numbers of the people fled from their native land, and sought an asylum in the wilds of America, in the hope of obtaining that liberty of conscience among savages, which was denied them by their own countrymen. Having left their friends and their country chiefly for the sake of religion, they could not behold, with indifference and unconcern, the poor Indians wandering in the paths of ignorance and error, without God, without Christ, and without hope in the world. For some years, however, the difficulties attending a new settlement in a desert uncultivated region, the quarrels in which they were unfortunately involved with the natives, the disputes that fell out among themselves, together with various other circumstances, prevented them from making those early exertions for the evangelizing of the Indians, which the nature and importance of the object demanded.

In the year 1646, the General Court of Massachusetts passed the first act, encouraging the propagation of the gospel among the Indians; and it was recommended to the elders of the churches, to consider the means by which it might

best be accomplished. *(a)* One of the first to comply with this order was Mr. John Eliot, who, not having been allowed to keep school in his native country, had retired to New-England, and was now minister of Roxbury, a place in the neighbourhood of Boston. *(b)* He had for two years past been applying to the study of the Indian language, with the assistance of a young ingenious native who understood English, whom he hired for this purpose; and notwithstanding the enormous length of many of the words, the harshness of the pronunciation, and the want of affinity with the languages of Europe, he was now able not only to understand, but to speak it intelligibly. *(c)*

Having, in this manner, prepared himself for the work, Mr. Eliot, about the end of October, proceeded, with two or three of his friends, to visit some Indians, at a place about four or five miles from his own house, to whom he had previously given notice of his design to instruct them in the Christian faith. Several of them met him at some distance from their wigwams, and, bidding him welcome, conducted him into a large apartment, where a great number of their countrymen were assembled, to hear this new doctrine which the English were to teach them. After a short prayer, Mr. Eliot delivered a discourse to them in the Indian tongue, which lasted upwards of an hour, and comprehended many of the most important articles of natural and revealed religion. He informed them of the creation of the world, and the fall of man; of the greatness of God, the maker of all things; of the ten commandments, and the threatenings denounced against those who broke them; of the character and office

(a) Hutcheson's History of the Colony of Massachusetts Bay, vol i. p. 161.

(b) Neal's History of the Puritans, vol. ii. p. 227.—Gillie's Historical Collections relating to the Success of the Gospel, vol. ii. p. 124.

(c) Connecticut Evangelical Magazine, vol. iii. p. 367.—Mather's Ecclesiastical History of New-England, Book iii. p. 193.

of Jesus Christ; of the last judgment, the joys of heaven, and the torments of hell. Having finished his discourse, he asked them, whether they understood him; to which they answered, they understood all. He then desired them, as was afterwards his usual practice, to ask him any questions they might think necessary with regard to the sermon, upon which some of them made several inquiries of him, such as: "How a man might come to know Jesus Christ? Whether Englishmen were ever so ignorant of Jesus Christ as they were? Whether Jesus Christ could understand prayers in the Indian language? Whether, if a man was wicked, and his child good, God would be offended with that child; for, in the second commandment, it was said, *He visits the iniquities of the fathers upon the children?*" To these, and some other questions of a similar kind, Mr. Eliot and his friends endeavoured to give the Indians plain and simple answers; and after a conference of about three hours, they returned home highly delighted with their visit. *(d)*

Encouraged by so favourable a reception, Mr. Eliot and his friends paid the Indians a second visit about a fortnight after, and found a still greater number assembled than before. After teaching the children a few questions, he discoursed to the whole congregation about an hour concerning the nature of God, the plan of salvation through Jesus Christ, the necessity of faith in him, and the awful consequences of neglecting the gospel. During these exercises, the whole of them appeared extremely serious and attentive; and after sermon, an aged Indian stood up, and, with tears in his eyes, enquired, "Whether it was not too late for such an old man as he, who was now near death, to repent and seek after God?" Some others asked, "How the English came to differ so much from the Indians in their knowledge of God and Jesus

(d) Day-breaking of the Gospel in New-England, London, 1647, *in* Neal's History of New-England, vol. i. p. 242.—Gookin's Historical Collections of the Indians in New-England *in* Collections of the Massachusetts Historical Society, vol. i. p. 168.

Christ, since they had all at first but one father? How it happened that sea-water was salt and river water fresh? How it came to pass, if the water was higher than the earth, that it did not overflow the whole world?" Mr. Eliot and his friends having answered these and some other questions, the Indians told them they did greatly thank God for their coming among them, and for what they had heard: they were wonderful things to them. *(e)*

About a fortnight after, Mr. Eliot visited the Indians a third time, but the assembly was not so numerous as before; for the powaws, or conjurors, had, in the meanwhile, interfered with their authority, dissuading some from hearing the English ministers, and threatening others with death in case of disobedience. Such, however, as were present appeared very serious, and seemed much affected with the sermon. Two or three days after, Wampas, a sage Indian, with two of his companions, came to the English, and desired to be admitted into one of their families. He brought his son and two or three other Indian children with him, begging they might be educated in the Christian faith; and, at the next meeting, all who were present offered their children to be catechised and instructed by the White people. *(f)*

Encouraged by these auspicious circumstances, the General Court of Massachusetts, on the application of Mr. Eliot, gave the Indians in that neighbourhood some land on which to build a town, where they might live together, enjoy the privilege of religious instruction, and cultivate the arts of life. This place they called Noonatomen; and a number of them having met together to form some laws for the government of their little society, they agreed on the following regulations, some of which are curious enough.

1st, If any man be idle a week, or at most a fortnight, he shall pay a fine of five shillings.

(e) Day-breaking of the Gospel *in* Neal's Hist. New-England, vol. i. p. 243.

(f) Day-breaking of the Gospel *in* Neal's Hist. New-England, vol. i. p. 244.

2dly, If any unmarried man lie with an unmarried woman, he shall pay twenty shillings.

3dly, If any man beat his wife, he shall be carried to the place of justice with his hands tied behind his back, and severely punished.

4thly, Every young man who is not a servant, and is unmarried, shall be obliged to build a wigwam, and to plant some ground for himself, and not shift up and down in other houses.

5thly, If any woman shall not have her hair tied up, but shall allow it to hang loose, or to be cut as men's hair, she shall pay five shillings.

6thly, If any woman go with her breasts uncovered, she shall be fined in two shillings.

7thly, If any man wear long hair, he shall pay five shillings.

Lastly, Whoever shall kill their lice between their teeth, shall be fined in five shillings. *(g)*

These fines, though to us they may seem inconsiderable, yet to the Indians they must have appeared very heavy, considering the general poverty under which they laboured, and the value of money at that period. Some of the regulations, indeed, are frivolous enough, and certainly had better been omitted; but let it be remembered, every age has its follies.

The seat of the town being marked out, Mr. Eliot advised them to surround it with ditches and a stone wall, promising to furnish them with shovels, spades, mattocks, and crows of iron for this purpose; and he likewise gave money to such as wrought hardest. By these means, the village was in a short time not only enclosed, but the wigwams of the meanest were equal to the houses of the sachems in other towns, being built not with matts, but with the bark of trees, and divided into several apartments; whereas, formerly, they used to eat

(g) Day-breaking of the Gospel *in* Ne Hist. New-England, vol. i. p. 245.

and sleep, and perform all the offices of nature in the same place. *(h)*

Being now settled in comfortable habitations, the women began to learn to spin, to make various little articles, and to carry the natural productions of the country to market for sale. In winter, they sold brooms, staves, baskets, turkies; in spring, cranberries, strawberries, fish; in summer, hortleberries, grapes, &c. Besides, several of them wrought with the English in hay-time and harvest; but, it was remarked, they were not so industrious, nor yet so able to work, as those who had been accustomed to it from their infancy. Some of the men learned such trades as were deemed most necessary; and so great was the improvement they made, that they built a house for public worship, fifty feet in length, and twenty-five in breadth, which appeared like the workmanship of an English housewright. *(i)*

While these things were going on at Noonatomen, the Indians in the neighbourhood of Concord expressed a similar desire of uniting together, in a regular society, of receiving the Christian faith, and of learning the arts of civilized life. With this view they requested Mr. Eliot to come and preach the gospel to them, and they begged the government to grant them a piece of land on which they might build themselves a town. In February 1647, several of their sachems and other principal men met at Concord, and agreed on the following regulations for their government in civil and religious matters:

1st, That no powawing or conjuring should be allowed among them, under a penalty of twenty shillings for each offence.

2dly, That whoever should be drunk, should pay a fine of twenty shillings.

(h) Shepard's Clear Sunshine of the Gospel upon the Indians, London, 1648, *in* Neal's Hist. New-Eng. vol. i. p. 247.

(i) Shepard *in* Neal's Hist. New-England, vol. i. p. 247.—Hutcheson, vol. i. p. 163.

3dly, That whoever should be convicted of stealing, should restore four-fold.

4thly, That whoever should profane the Sabbath, should be fined in twenty shillings.

5thly, That whoever should commit fornication, should pay twenty shillings if a man, and ten shillings if a woman.

6thly, That wilful murder, adultery, and lying with a beast, should be punished with death.

7thly, That no person should beat his wife, under a penalty of twenty shillings.

8thly, That they would lay aside their old ceremonies of howling, greasing their bodies, adorning their hair, and follow the customs of the English.

Lastly, They agreed to pray in their wigwams, and to say grace before and after meat.

These, and some other regulations of a similar kind, were agreed to by the whole assembly, and a recorder was chosen to see them carried into execution. (*k*)

Mr. Eliot, however, by no means confined his labours to these two places. Though he still retained the pastoral charge of the church at Roxbury, yet he usually went once a fortnight on a missionary excursion, travelling through the different parts of Massachusetts and of the neighbouring country, as far as Cape Cod, and preaching the gospel of the kingdom to as many of the Indians as would hear him. Many were the toils, many the hardships, many the dangers, he encountered in the prosecution of this important work. In a letter to the Hon. Mr. Winslow, he says, "I have not been dry night nor day from Tuesday to Saturday, but have travelled from place to place in that condition; and at night I pull off my boots, wring my stockings, and on with them again, and so continue. But God steps in and helps me. I have considered the exhortation of Paul to his son Timothy, *Endure hardness as a good soldier of Jesus Christ.*" Such sufferings

(*k*) Shepard *in* Neal's Hist. New-Eng. vol. i. p. 247.

as these, however, were the least of his trials. When travelling in the wilderness without a friend or companion, he was sometimes treated by the Indians in a very barbarous manner, and was not unfreqently in danger even of his life. Both the chiefs and the powaws were the determined enemies of Christianity—the sachems being jealous of their authority, the priests of their gain; and hence they often laid plots for the destruction of this good man, and would certainly have put him to death, had they not been overawed by the power of the English. Sometimes the chiefs, indeed, thrust him out from among them, saying, "It was impertinent in him to trouble himself with them or their religion, and that should he return again, it would be at his peril." To such threatnings he used only to reply, "That he was engaged in the service of the Great God, and therefore he did not fear them, nor all the sachems in the country, but was resolved to go on with his work, and bade them touch him if they dared," To manifest their malignity, however, as far as was possible, they banished from their society such of the people as favoured Christianity; and when it might be done with safety, they even put them to death. Nothing, indeed, but the dread of the English prevented them from massacring the whole of the converts; a circumstance which induced some of them to conceal their sentiments, and others to fly to the colonists for protection. *(l)*

But, notwithstanding the opposition of the sachems and the priests, Mr. Eliot's labours were by no means in vain. By means of his zealous and unwearied exertions, numbers of the Indians, in different parts of the country, embraced the gospel; and in the year 1651, a considerable body of them united together in building a town, which they called Natick, on the banks of Charles' river, about eighteen miles south-west from Boston. This village consisted of three

(l) Eliot's Letters, published by Whitfield, 1651,—Whitfield's Discovery of the present state of the Indians in New-England, 1651, *in* Neal's Hist. New-Eng. vol. i. p. 249.

long streets, two on this side of the river, and one on the other, with a piece of ground for each family. A few of the houses were built in the English style, but most of them were after the Indian fashion; for as the former were neither so cheap nor so warm, nor yet so easily removed as their wigwams, in which not a single nail was used, they generally retained their own mode of building. There was, however, one large house in the English style; the lower room was a great hall, which served for a place of worship on the Sabbath, and a school-house through the week; the upper room was a kind of wardrobe, in which the Indians deposited their skins and other articles of value; and in one of the corners there was an apartment for good Mr. Eliot, with a bed and bedstead in it. Besides this building, there was a large fort of a circular form, palisadoed with trees; and a small bridge over the river, the foundation of which was secured with stone. *(m)*

As soon as the Indians had formed this new settlement, they applied to Mr. Eliot for a form of civil government; and as he imagined the Scriptures to be a perfect standard in political as well as in religious matters, he advised them to adopt the model proposed by Jethro to Moses in the wilderness: "Moreover, thou shalt provide out of all the people able men, such as fear God, men of truth hating covetousness; and place such over them, to be rulers of thousands, and rulers of hundreds, rulers of fifties, and rulers of tens." Agreeably to his advice, they chose one ruler of a hundred, two rulers of fifty, and ten rulers of ten, the rulers standing in order, and every individual going to the one he chose. Having adopted this form of government in their little town, they utterly abandoned polygamy, which had formerly prevailed among them; they made severe laws against fornication, drunkenness, Sabbath-breaking, and other immoralities; and

(m) Manifestation of the farther Progress of the Gospel in New-England, 1652, *in* Neal's Hist. New-Eng. vol. i. p. 253.—Gookin *in* Hist. Coll. Mass. vol. pp. 180, 181.

they began, at length, to long for the establishment of the order of a Christian Church among them. (*n*)

The churches of New-England were, at that time, remarkably rigorous in the admission of persons to Christian fellowship, and required very decided proofs of faith in Christ; but in the case of the Indians, they seemed rather to increase than abate their strictness. For some years, the converts remained under the character of catechumens, and were commonly visited by Mr. Eliot or some other minister every week, for the sake of preaching among them, and catechising their children. At length, on a day appointed for the purpose, the ministers of the neighbouring churches, assisted by interpreters, publicly examined a considerable number of them concerning their attainments, both in knowledge and in grace; and notwithstanding the great satisfaction they received, yet, in order that no precaution might be neglected in raising them to the rank of a Christian church, the candidates were afterwards called to make a confession of their faith in Christ, and to give an account of their conversion, which declarations being taken in writing, were carefully examined by the religious people among the English, and met with their high approbation. Being in this manner approved, several of them were, at length, baptized, and in 1660 they were incorporated into a church, and had the Lord's supper administered among them. It does not appear, however, that the members were very numerous, for about ten years after, they amounted only to between forty and fifty. (*o*)

Soon after the formation of the church at Natick, Mr. Eliot had the pleasure of completing a work on which his heart had long been set, and which was intimately connected with the success of his labours, the translation of the Holy Scriptures into the Indian language. In 1661, the New Testament,

(*n*) Manifestation of the farther Progress, &c. *in* Neal's Hist. New-Eng. vol. i. p. 254.—Mather, book iii. p. 197.

(*o*) Mather, book iii. p. 197.—Hutcheson, vol. i—Eliot's Tears of Repentance, *in* Neal's Hist. New-Eng. vol. i. p. 255.

dedicated to his Majesty Charles the Second, was printed at Cambridge in New-England; and about three years after it was followed by the Old Testament. This was the first Bible ever printed in America, and though the impression consisted of two thousand copies, it was sooner exhausted than might have been expected. A second edition of the whole was published in 1685, in correcting which Mr. Eliot was much assisted by his friend Mr. John Cotton of Plymouth. Besides this great work, he translated into the Indian language various other useful books, as Primers, Catechisms, the Practice of Piety, Shepard's Sincere Convert, Shepard's Sound Believer, and Baxter's Call to the Unconverted. He also published a Grammar of the Indian language; and at the close of it wrote these memorable words: "Prayers and pains, through faith in Christ Jesus, will do any thing." *(p)*

Besides instituting schools, where many of the Indians learned to read and write, Mr. Eliot and the other gentlemen who had the superintendence of the mission, were at much expence in educating some of them to the work of the ministry, with the view of employing them as preachers among their own countrymen. The plan, certainly, was laudable, but it was not effectual, at least to the extent that was expected or desired. Several of the youths died, after being some years at their education; others were disheartened and relinquished the pursuit, when they were nearly ready for the college; some, however, persevered in their studies, acquired considerable knowledge of the Latin and Greek languages, and were qualified for being employed as schoolmasters and teachers among their own countrymen. At Cambridge in New-England, a building was erected at an expence of between three and four hundred pounds, under the name of the Indian College. It was large enough to

(p) Mather, book iii. pp. 193, 197.—Holmes' American Annals, vol. i. pp. 318, 327.—Works of the Hon. Mr. Boyle, vol. i.

accommodate about twenty persons with convenient lodgings; but for some years, at least, it was chiefly occupied by English students, on account of the death and failure of the Indians youths. *(q)*

With the view of supplying, as far as possible, the want of native preachers, Mr. Eliot, besides visiting the Indians frequently during the week, encouraged the most judicious of them to give their countrymen a word of exhortation on the Sabbath. As a specimen of their talents for this exercise, we shall subjoin the following abstract of an address delivered by one of them, on a day of fasting and prayer, on account of the excessive rains which had of late deluged their fields.

GENESIS, viii. 20, 21.

And Noah built an altar unto the Lord, and took of every clean beast, and of every clean fowl, and offered burnt offerings upon the altar. And the Lord smelled a sweet savour; and the Lord said in his heart, I will not again curse the ground for man's sake.

"A little I shall say, according to that little I know. In that Noah sacrificed, he shewed himself thankful; in that Noah worshipped, he shewed himself godly; in that he offered clean beasts, he shewed that God is an holy God, and that all who come to him must be pure and clean. Know that we must by repentance purge ourselves, which is the work we are to do this day.

"Noah sacrificed, and so worshipped. This was the manner of old time. But what sacrifices have we now to offer? I shall answer by that in Psalm iv. 5, 'Offer to God the sacrifices of righteousness, and put your trust in the Lord.' These are the true spiritual sacrifices which God requires at our hands, the sacrifices of righteousness; that is, we must look to our hearts and ways, that they may be

(q) Gookin *in* Mass. Hist. Coll. vol. i. pp. 172, 173, 175, 176.

righteous, and then we shall be acceptable to God when we worship him. But if we be unrighteous, unholy, ungodly, we shall not be accepted; our sacrifices will be stark naught.

"Again, we are to 'put our trust in the Lord.' Who else is there for us to trust in? We must believe in the word of God; if we doubt of God, or doubt of his word, our sacrifices are little worth; but if we trust stedfastly in God, our sacrifices will be good.

"Once more, What sacrifices must we offer? My answer is, we must offer such as Abraham offered; and what sacrifice that was, we are told, Gen. xxii. 12, 'Now I know that thou fearest me, seeing thou hast not withheld thy son, thy only son from me.' It seems, he had but one dearly beloved son, and he offered that son to God; and so God said, 'I know that thou fearest me.' Behold a sacrifice in deed and in truth! Such an one must we offer; only God requires not us to offer our sons, but our sins, our dearest sins. God calls us this day to part with all our sins, though never so beloved, and we must not withhold any of them from him. If we will not part with all, the sacrifice is not right. Let us part with such sins as we love best, and it will be a good sacrifice.

"God smelled a sweet savour in Noah's sacrifice, and so will he receive our sacrifices, when we worship him aright. But how did God manifest his acceptance of Noah's offering? It was by promising to drown the world no more, but give us fruitful seasons. God has chastised us of late, as if he would utterly drown us; and he has drowned, and spoiled, and ruined a great deal of our hay, and threatens to kill our cattle. It is for this we fast and pray this day. Let us then offer a clean and pure sacrifice as Noah did; so God will smell a savour of rest, and he will withhold the rain, and bless us with such fruitful seasons, as we are desiring of him." *(r)*

(r) Eliot's Letter to the Corporation of London, 1659, *in* Neal's Hist. New-Eng. vol. i. p. 260.

In 1674, the number of towns, within the jurisdiction of Massachusett's colony, inhabited by praying Indians, as they were called, had increased to no fewer than fourteen, to all of which Mr. Eliot appears, in a greater or less degree, to have extended his evangelical labours. Of these, seven were of considerable standing; the other seven had begun to listen to the gospel only within the last three years. It is necessary, however, to remark, that under the appellation of *Praying Indians* were included all who merely submitted to be catechised, attended public worship, read the scriptures, and prayed in their family morning and evening, even though they were not able, or not willing to profess their faith in Christ, and of course were not admitted either to Baptism or the Lord's Supper. Estimating each family in these towns to consist on an average of five persons, the whole number of individuals enjoying the means of Christian instruction was supposed to amount to about eleven hundred; but among these there were as yet only two churches; and, indeed, the further progress of the gospel among the Indians was greatly interrupted by the war with Philip, a celebrated chief, which began the following year, many of the towns of praying Indians being broken up in consequence of it. In 1684, Mr. Eliot informs us, that their stated places of worship were reduced to four; but, besides these, there were some other places, where they occasionally met for divine service. *(s)*

Notwithstanding these discouraging circumstances, Mr. Eliot persevered in his labours among the Indians, as long as his health and strength would permit; but being, at length, worn out with the infirmities of age, he was scarcely able to visit them oftener than once in two months, instead of every fortnight, as had been his usual practice. Even at Roxbury he was no longer able to perform the duties of the pastoral office to his own satisfaction; and, therefore, he very disinterestedly importuned his people to call another minister,

(s) Gookin in Mass. Hist. Coll. vol. i. p. 182, 189, 195.—Boyle's Works' vol. i.

because he could not die with comfort till he saw a good successor settled among them. "It is possible," said he, "you may think the burden of maintaining two ministers too heavy for you; but I deliver you from that fear. I do here give back my salary to the Lord Jesus Christ; and, now, Brethren, you may fix it on any man whom God shall make your pastor." But his church, with a handsome reply, assured him, that they would consider his very presence among them worth a salary, when he should be unable to do any further service among them. Having, at length, obtained an excellent young man for his colleague, the venerable Mr. Eliot cherished him with all the care and affection of a father toward a child. After this, for a year or two before his death, he could scarcely be persuaded to undertake any public service in the congregation, humbly pleading, what none but himself ever thought even for a moment, that it would be wrong to the souls of the people, for him to do any thing among them, when they were otherwise so much supplied to their advantage. One day, (Dr. Mather thinks it was the last he ever preached,) after a very distinct and useful exposition of the eighty-third Psalm, he concluded with an apology to his hearers, begging them, "to pardon the poorness, and meanness, and brokenness of his meditations;" but added he, with singular humility, "My dear brother, here, will by and by mend all." *(t)*

But though this excellent man imagined he could no longer be useful to the English, he thought, he might yet, perhaps, do some good among the negroes. He had long lamented the deplorable condition of these poor creatures, dragged from their native land, carried to a foreign shore, and reduced to slavery among strangers. He now, therefore, requested the English, within two or three miles of his house, to send their negroes to him once a week, that he might catechise and instruct them in the things which be-

(t) Mather, B. iii. p. 180, 194, 206.

longed to their everlasting peace. He did not live, however, to make much progress in this humble, yet disinterested undertaken. Even when he was able to do little without doors, he tried to do something within. There was a young boy in the neighbourhood, who, in his infancy, had fallen into the fire, and burned his face in such a manner, that he was now totally blind. The good old man, therefore, took him home to his house, with the view of teaching him; and he was so far successful, that the youth, in a short time, could repeat many chapters of the Bible from memory, and was able to construe with ease an ordinary piece of Latin. Such was the manner in which this venerable saint spent the evening of life. With him there was no day *sine linea. (u)*

Being at length, attacked with some degree of fever, he rapidly sunk under the ravages of his disorder, combined with the infirmities of old age. During his illness, when speaking about the evangelizing of the Indians, he said, "There is a dark cloud upon the work of the gospel among them. The Lord revive and prosper that work, and grant that it may live when I am dead. It is a work I have been doing much and long about. But what was the word I spoke last? I recal that word, *My doings.* Alas! they have been poor, and small, and lean doings; and I will be the man who will cast the first stone at them all." One of the last expressions which were heard to drop from his lips were those emphatic words: "Welcome joy." He at length expired in the beginning of 1690, in the eighty-sixth year of his age, and has since been known by the honourable, yet well earned title of THE APOSTLE OF THE INDIANS. *(v)**

(u) Mather, B. iii. p. 207.
(v) Mather, B. iii. p. 207, 173, 194.

* Mr. Eliot had several sons, and it was his earnest wish that they should all have been employed in the noble and important work of evangelizing the Indians. His eldest son, indeed, was not only the pastor of an English church, at a

Previous to the death of Mr. Eliot, the church at Natick had an Indian minister settled among them; but it appears to have been in a languishing state. *(w)* In 1698, indeed, there were at that place about a hundred and eighty persons, a number greater than what they were estimated to be upwards of twenty years before; but the church was reduced to ten, namely, seven men and three women. *(x)* Since that period, they have gradually diminished in number, and now they are nearly extinct. In 1753, there were in Natick, twenty-five families, besides several single persons.

Some of the men became soldiers in the war with France, which began soon after. Several of them died while engaged in that service, and those who returned home brought with them the seeds of a contagious disorder, which, in two or three months, carried off upwards of twenty of the few who remained. *(y)* In 1763, according to a census then taken, there were in Natick only thirty-seven Indians; but in this return, it is probable, the wandering Indians were not included. *(z)*

(w) Mather, B. iii. p. 194. B. vi. p. 61.
(x) Holmes' American Annals, vol. ii. p. 37.
(y) Mass. Hist. Coll. vol. v. p. 41.
(z) Ibid. vol. i. p. 195.

place now called Newtown, but, for several years, he regularly preached to the Indians once a fortnight at Pakemitt, and some times at Natick, and other places. He was highly esteemed by the most judicious of the Christian Indians, but died in early life, twenty years before his venerable father. Indeed, most of Mr. Eliot's children left the world before him; but not until they had given satisfactory evidence of their conversion to Christ. Hence, when some person asked him, how he could bear the death of such excellent children, the good old man replied, "My desire was that they should have served God on earth; but if he choose rather that they shall serve him in heaven, I have nothing to object against it: His will be done." *Gookin* in *Mass. Hist. Coll.* vol. i. p. 171.—*Mather*, B. iii. p. 174.

Indeed, they so frequently change their place of residence, and are so intermarried with blacks and whites, that it is next to impossible to ascertain the precise number who may still remain. In 1797, it was supposed there were about twenty of the Natick Indians who were of pure blood, and either resided in that town, or belonged to it. Few of them however, attended public worship; none of them were remarkable for piety; and, indeed, only two or three of them were members of a Christian church. There were none among them who retained the knowledge of their original language, so as to be able to speak it, though one old woman said she could understand it when spoken by others. We notice these particulars, minute as they are, because it is interesting to know the history and the present state of the Indian flock of the celebrated John Eliot. *(a)*

Besides the Indians at Natick, there were, in 1764, eight or ten families at a place called Grafton; and in 1792, there were still about thirty persons who retained a part of their lands, and received an annual quit-rent from the white inhabitants. These, with a few other Indians at Stoughton, it is believed, are all the remains of the numerous and powerful tribes who anciently inhabited the colony of Massachusetts. *(b)* *

(a) Mass. Hist. Coll. vol. v. p. 43.
(b) Ibid. vol. i. p. 195.

* Before leaving this part of our history, we may notice some curious circumstances which Dr. Mather mentions, with regard to the mode of instruction employed by the Roman Catholics in converting the Indians of America. They were extracted by him from the manuscript of a Jesuit missionary which had fallen into his hands, containing a catechism relative to the principles in which the poor Pagans were to be instructed, and cases of conscience with regard to their conduct in life. From the chapters concerning heaven and hell, we shall select a few particulars:—

Q. How is the soil made in heaven?

SECTION II.

Martha's Vineyard.

WHILE Mr. Eliot was employed in evangelizing the Indians in Massachusetts, the family of the Mayhews were engaged in the same noble undertaking in Martha's Vineyard, Nantucket, and Elizabeth isles. Mr. Thomas Mayhew, senior, having obtained a grant of these islands, which were

A. It is a very fair soil. They want neither for meat nor clothes; we have only to wish and we have them.

Q. Are they employed in heaven?

A. No. They do nothing. The fields yield corn, beans, pumkins, and the like, without any tillage.

Q. What sort of trees are there?

A. Always green, full and flourishing.

Q. Have they in heaven the same sun, the same wind, the same thunder that we have here?

A. No. The sun ever shines; it is always fair weather.

Q. But how are their fruits?

A. In this respect they excel ours, that they are never wasted. You have no sooner plucked one, but you see another hanging in its room.

In this manner the catechism goes on with regard to heaven. Concerning hell there are, among others, the following questions:—

Q. What sort of a soil is hell?

A. A very wretched soil; it is a fiery pit in the centre of the earth.

Q. Have they any light in hell?

A. No. It is always dark; there is always smoke there; their eyes are always in pain; they can see nothing but devils.

Q. What shaped things are the devils?

A. Very ill shaped things; they go about with vizards on, and terrify men.

Q. What do they eat in hell?

A. They are always hungry; and the damned feed upon hot ashes and serpents.

not originally included in any of the four governments of New-England, *(a)* placed his son, a young man of considerable learning and piety, with a few other English people, in Martha's Vineyard, in the year 1642. Being invited by his fellow-settlers to become their pastor, young Mr. Mayhew was not satisfied that his labours should be confined to so small a handful of his countrymen, but learned the Indian language with the view of Christianizing the natives, of whom, it is said, there were several thousands on this and the neighbouring islands. He began by endeavouring to insinuate himself into their good graces by kind and gentle usage; and, in a short time, he had the pleasure of witnessing the good effects of this plan on one of the Indians, named Hiacoomes, a young man of about thirty years of age. The English had visited him repeatedly in his wigwam, and invited him to come and see them in return; but this he declined for some time, through dread of his countrymen, who looked on their new neighbours as enemies of their gods and nation. Induced, however, by curiosity, he at length broke through this barrier, and came, one Sabbath day, to the plantation of the White people. Mr. Mayhew, on seeing him, invited him to his house, entertained him in a very friendly man-

(a) Hutcheson, vol. i. p. 161.

Q. What water have they to drink?
A. Horrid water. Nothing but melted lead.
Q. Do they not die in hell?
A. No. They eat one another every day; but God immediately restores and renews those that were eaten as a cropt plant in a little time shoots out again.

Such is a specimen of this singular work. Had not Dr. Mather informed us, that a copy of it in the Iroquois language, with a translation annexed to it, had fallen into his own hands, we could scarcely have believed, that even Jesuit missionaries would have had recourse to such vile artifices for alluring the Indians to the profession of Christian faith.—*Mather*, book iii. p. 203.

ner, and embraced this opportunity of conversing with him concerning the excellency of Christian religion, compared with the Indian mode of worship. Hiacoomes was much impressed by this conversation; in a short time he renounced the gods of his country, and made frequent visits to Mr. Mayhew with the view of obtaining further instruction in the principles of the gospel. *(b)*

The revolt of Hiacoomes from the religion of his fathers, alarmed the whole island. All his countrymen were roused with indignation, and inflamed with rage against him; they loaded him with insults and reproaches, with hatred and contempt. By degrees, however, they cooled in their resentment; and, at length, their indignation was changed into reverence, their hatred into respect. Hiacoomes and his family happening to escape a certain disorder which spread over the whole island, his countrymen began to conceive a more favourable opinion both of him and of the Christian religion; and after holding a consultation together, they sent a messenger to him, desiring him to hasten to them, and tell them of this new mode of worship. On his arrival, he found the chief and a great number of the people assembled to hear, and when he represented to them some of the leading principles of the Christian religion, they appeared to listen with great attention; and when he left them, they seemed in a very thoughtful temper of mind. *(c)*

In the year 1646, soon after this event, the chief sent for Mr. Mayhew, and requested him to establish a meeting among them, and to make known the word of God to them in their own language. Agreeably to their desire, he promised to meet with them once a month; but after the first exercise, they begged him to repeat it more frequently than it was even in his power to grant. He agreed, however, to

(b) Neal's Hist. New-England, vol. i. p. 262.—Mayhew's Indian Converts, p. 280.

(c) Neal's Hist. New-England, vol. i. p. 263.—Mayhew, p. 282.

visit them every fortnight, and that their countryman, Hiacoomes, should meet with them on the Sabbath. These proceedings were not, indeed, equally agreeable to all the Indians. Numbers, on the contrary, opposed them with the utmost bitterness and zeal. They mocked and derided such as attended the meetings, and blasphemed the God whom they worshipped. The chief who had invited Mr. Mayhew, was in a particular manner the object of their indignation and rage. An attempt was even made against his life, on account of the attachment he shewed to the new religion; but this circumstance, instead of frightening him from his purpose, only strengthened his resolution, and inflamed his zeal.

In 1648, at a meeting of the Indians, both of such as opposed and of such as favoured Christianity, the authority of the powaws was publicly debated, many asserting their power to hurt and kill their enemies, and alleging numerous stories of this kind, which they said were evident and undeniable. Some of them stood up and asked, "Who does not fear the powaws?" To this, others replied, "There is no man who does not fear them." The eyes of the whole assembly were now turned to Hiacoomes. He therefore rose from his seat, and boldly answered: "Though the powaws may hurt such as fear them, yet he trusted in the Great God of heaven and earth, and therefore all the powaws in the world could do him no harm; he feared them not." The whole assembly were astonished at this bold declaration, and expected some terrible judgment to overtake him immediately; but observing that he remained unhurt, they began to change their views, and to esteem him happy in being delivered from the power of their priests, of whom they were all in such terror. Several of them even declared they now believed in the same God, and would fear the powaws no more. Being desired to tell them what the Great God would have them to do, and what were the things that offended him, Hiacoomes immediately began to preach the gospel to them; and, at the close of the meeting, no fewer

than twenty-two of the Indians resolved to renounce the superstition of their fathers, and to embrace the religion of the White people, among whom was a son of one of the chiefs, who afterwards became a preacher. The powaws were terribly enraged at these proceedings, and threatened to kill the praying Indians; but Hiacoomes and his friends challenged them to do their worst, telling them they would abide their power in the face of the whole island. *(d)*

Encouraged by these auspicious circumstances, Mr. Mayhew now redoubled his zeal, and pursued his labours with more energy than ever. He spared not himself, neither by night nor day, travelling among the Indians in different parts of the island, lodging in their smoky wigwams, and partaking of their homely fare. He possessed singular sweetness and affability of manners, by which he wonderfully ingratiated himself into their affections. Besides catechising children, he preached to them every fortnight; and after sermon, he usually spent more time than in the discourse itself, reasoning with them in a plain familiar manner, answering their questions, removing their doubts, silencing the cavils, and resolving cases of conscience put to him. Every Saturday morning, he also conferred privately with Hiacoomes, who preached to his countrymen on the Sabbath, directed him in the choice of his subject, and furnished him with materials for illustrating it. *(e)*

These various labours Mr. Mayhew pursued with unremitting diligence, in the midst of no inconsiderable privations, and many external inconveniences. "I was an eye-witness," says Mr. Henry Whitfield, minister of Guildford, in New-England, "of the great pains he took; and seeing but slender appearance of outward accommodations, I asked him concerning his maintenance, but he was modest, and

(d) Neal's Hist. New-Eng. vol. i. p. 264.—Mayhew, p. 282, 284.

(e) Neal's Hist. New-Eng. vol, i. p. 266.—Mayhew, p. 285.

would make no complaints. I understood from others, however, that things were very short with him ; that he was often forced to labour with his own hands, having a wife and three small children to provide for, and not half so much coming in yearly, as a day-labourer gets in the country, yet he was cheerful amidst these straits, and none ever heard him complain. The truth is, he would not leave the work in which he was engaged ; for, to my knowledge, had he chosen it, he might have had a more competent and comfortable maintenance." *(f)*

About 1650, a circumstance occurred which amazed the whole island, and wonderfully promoted the progress of Christianity among the Indians. This was the conversion of two of the powaws. These poor creatures, who had been the slaves of Satan from their infancy, now professed themselves the servants of God, revealed the mysteries of their diabolical art, and expressed the utmost abhorrence of their past conduct. It rejoiced the Christian Indians to behold the powaws beginning to turn to the Redeemer, and it no less confounded their pagan countrymen. Many of them, and even the sorcerers themselves, it is said, began to acknowledge, that since the gospel was preached among them, they had been singularly foiled in their conjurations ; and instead of curing, had often killed their patients. *(g)*

The Indians now flocked to Mr. Mayhew in whole families. One day there came no fewer than fifty, desiring to attend on the preaching of the gospel and the means of Christian instruction. On account of this great increase of their numbers, it became necessary to have two different meetings on the Lord's day, the one three, the other eight miles from Mr. Mayhew's house ; and not long after, he instituted a school

(f) Whitfield's Collection of Letters *in* Neal's Hist. New-Eng. vol. i. p. 266.

(g) Mayhew, p. 287.

for teaching the children and young men to read, an acquisition which many of them were eager to make. *(h)*

After pursuing his labours a few years longer, Mr. Mayhew, in 1657, undertook a voyage to England, with the view of giving a more particular account of the Indians than it was possible to do by letters, in the hope of thereby promoting the advancement of religion among them. But, alas, how mysterious are the ways of Providence! Neither the ship nor any of the passengers were ever heard of more. It was, therefore, concluded that she had foundered at sea, and that he and all on board had perished. Thus came to a premature and melancholy end, Mr. Thomas Mayhew, jun. a man so justly and so affectionately beloved by the Christian Indians, that for many years after his death, they seldom named him without shedding tears. *(i)*

But though the Indians of Martha's Vineyard thus lost a pastor of inestimable worth and excellence, they were not left to wander as sheep without a shepherd. His venerable father, Thomas Mayhew, Esq. the patentee of this and the neighbouring islands, though he had hitherto taken no active part in evangelizing the Indians, had yet felt a deep concern for their welfare, and had, in various ways, promoted their interest. After the gospel had made some progress in the island, he persuaded the chiefs to admit into the council some of the most judicious of the Christian Indians; and in cases of more than ordinary difficulty, to introduce trial by jury. By means of his exertions, a regular civil government was, in the course of a few years, established among them; records were kept of the proceedings of their courts by some of themselves, who had learned to read and write; and even the chiefs were brought to acknowledge the authority of the king of England, reserving to themselves, as subordinate governors, the right of ruling their people by the laws of God

(h) Mayhew, p. 289. *(i)* Ibid. p. 291.

and of his Majesty. *(k)* But as he now saw no probability of their obtaining a regular minister, he was induced, by his zeal for the glory of God, and the salvation of souls, to undertake the oversight, not only of their temporal, but of their spiritual concerns. Though now about seventy years of age, he began with unwearied diligence to perfect himself in their language, of which he had already some knowledge; and though a governor, he was not ashamed to become a preacher among them, sometimes travelling on foot near twenty miles through the woods to visit them. The Indians, indeed were so pleased and edified with his ministrations, that a few years afterwards, they requested him to accept of the pastoral office among them; but apprehending this would not correspond so well with the chief place which he held in the civil government, where they also greatly needed his assistance, he advised them to choose such of the Indian preachers as he thought were most judicious, and promised to be most useful among them. Agreeably to his advice, they made choice of Hiacoomes and John Tackanash, who accordingly were both ordained to the work of the ministry among them, while old Mr. Mayhew continued to labour as an evangelist, both in Martha's Vineyard, and in the neighbouring islands. *(l)*

In 1674, the whole number of native families on Martha's Vineyard, and a small island separated from it by a narrow strait, was about three hundred and sixty, of whom two-thirds, or, as Dr. Mather estimates them, about fifteen hundred persons, were praying Indians. Among these, there were fifty in full communion, whose holy and examplary life bore ample testimony to the inward work of grace in their hearts. It may also be proper to add, that there were ten Indian preachers, seven jurisdictions, and six meetings, every Lord's day. *(m)*

(k) Mather, book vi. p. 57.

(l) Mayhew, p. 298.

(m) Gookin in Mass. Hist. Coll. vol. i. p. 205.—Mather, book iii. p. 200.

At Nantucket, an island about twenty miles distant, often visited by Mr. Mayhew, there was also a church of Christian Indians. The whole number of families in that quarter, at the period now mentioned, was estimated at about three hundred. Among these were about thirty individuals in full communion, forty childen who had been baptized, and about three hundred persons, including both old and young, who prayed to God and observed the Sabbath. They had meetings in three different places, and four Indian teachers among them. *(n)*

In 1680, the venerable Mr. Mayhew died, in the ninety-third year of his age, and the twenty-third of his ministry, to the great grief of the inhabitants of the island. Previous to his death, however, one of his grand children, Mr. John Mayhew, was settled as the pastor of the English families, and the Indians would not be satisfied until he became a preacher to them likewise, even though his grandfather still laboured with great acceptance among them. After the death of that good man, as he had now both the Indians and the English under his pastoral care, it became necessary for him to redouble his diligence and zeal, especially as some erroneous opinions threatened to spread in the island. The whole of his salary as a minister among the Indians and the White people, scarcely amounted to ten pounds *per annum*, except during the two last years of his life, when on account of his eminent services, it was raised to thirty pounds; but yet he pursued his labours with cheerfulness and pleasure, in the hope of a rich and a better reward in heaven. His course on earth, indeed, was short. During his last sickness, he expressed a wish that, " if it were the will of God, he might live a little longer, and do some more service for Christ in the world." Such, however, was not the appointment of heaven. After a few months illness, he died in February 1689, in the thirty-seventh year of his age, and the sixteenth of his ministry. *(o)*

(n) Gookin *in* Mass. Hist. Coll. vol. i. p. 206, 207.
(o) Mayhew, p. 307.

With him, however, did not expire the missionary zeal of the Mayhew family. That sacred flame, which burned with so much ardour in the breast of his excellent ancestors, continued to glow in the bosom of his posterity. He left behind him eight children, the eldest of whom was then only sixteen years of age; but it was not long before he succeeded him as a missionary among the Indians. In March 1694, Mr. Experience Mayhew entered on his labours among these poor people. *(p)* They were now, indeed, greatly diminished in number on Martha's Vineyard, as well as in all the English settlements; yet such was the progress of the gospel among them, that we are informed a few years afterwards, that out of a hundred and eighty families who still lived on that island, there were only two individuals who continued heathens. *(p)* As Mr. Experience Mayhew was considered as one of the greatest masters of the Indian language that had appeared in New-England, having been familiar with it from his infancy, he was employed to make a new version of the book of Psalms, and of the Gospel according to John. This work was printed in 1709, the Indian and English being placed in collateral columns. Besides this, he published, in 1727, a small volume, entitled *Indian Converts*, in which he gives a particular account of a considerable number of the natives who had embraced the gospel, and appeared to adorn their Christian profession. It is written with great candour, and evidently with a strict regard to truth; and though the examples of piety which it records are not so distinguished for holiness, nor so free from imperfections as might be wished, yet, on the whole, it may be considered as affording pleasing evidence of the triumph of the gospel, and of the power of divine grace in the hearts of these barbarous people. Mr. Experience Mayhew continued to labour among the Indians, on Martha's Vineyard, for no less a

(p) Mayhew, p. 306.

(q) Miller's History of the Propagation of Christianity, vol. ii. p. 461.

period than sixty years; but he at last died about 1754, aged eighty-one. *(r)*

Even at the close of the eighteenth century, the missionary on Martha's Vineyard was one of the Mayhew family. He was a venerable old man, descended from a long line of ancestors, who, for upwards of a century and a half, had been distinguished by their labours, and their zeal for the conversion of the heathen, an honour which, perhaps, no other family has enjoyed since the first promulgation of the gospel. There was also an Indian preacher on the island, who was regularly ordained to the ministry; but of him little was known. *(s)*

To this account of the Mayhews, it is proper to add what little information we possess respecting the Indians under their care. In 1720, there were on Martha's Vineyard six small towns, containing a hundred and fifty-five families, and about eight hundred souls. In each of these villages there was an Indian preacher. There was also a small meeting on Winthrop's island; another, composed of twelve or fourteen families, on Tucker's island and Nashaun, which lie adjacent to each other; and a third, consisting of a few Baptists, at Gayhead. *(t)*

In 1763, there still remained in Duke's county three hundred and thirteen Indians; and about that period, they began to intermarry with the negroes, in consequence of which they have not only increased in number, but improved in temperance and industry. About 1792, they amounted to four hundred and forty persons, but of these there were not one-third who were pure Indians. Most, if not all, of them were professed Christians; but with regard to vital religion, they had too great a resemblance to their White neighbours. *(u)*

(r) Mayhew, *passim*. Connecticut Evangelical Magazine, vol. ii. p. 283.

(s) Missionary Magazine, vol. vi. p. 384.

(t) Mass. Hist. Coll. vol. i.

(u) Mass. Hist. Coll. vol. i. p. 206.—Miss. Mag. vol. vi. p. 384.

With regard to the Indians on the island of Nantucket, our account must be still less favourable. Soon after the settlement of the English among them, they greatly decreased in number, and now the whole race is nearly extinct. In 1694, the adult persons on that island were reduced to about five hundred. Even then not a single Powaw was to be found among them; but there was a great decay of vital religion. Many of the most pious Indians had died; and such as remained, regarded more the form than the power of godliness. Numbers of them were sadly addicted to the use of spirituous liquors. Some, however, appeared to be of a serious character; and they had still five assemblies and three churches among them, two of them Congregational and one Baptist. *(v)*

In 1763, there were still three hundred and fifty-eight Indians on the island of Nantucket; but a fever, which attacked them about that period, committed such terrible devastation among them, that, in the course of a few months, no less than two hundred and twenty-two of them died. In 1792, the Indians on this island were reduced to four males and sixteen females; and there was no longer any assembly among them for divine worship. *(w)*

SECTION III.

New Plymouth Colony.

ANIMATED by the example and exhortations of Mr. Eliot, who, in the course of his evangelical labours, occasionally visited the colony of New Plymouth, some ministers, and others in this quarter of the country, engaged in

(v) Mather, B. vi. p. 56.
(w) Mass. Hist. Coll. vol. i. p. 207. vol. iv. p. 66.

the same noble undertaking, the Christianizing of the Indians. Among these was Mr. Richard Bourne, a man of some property, in the vicinity of Sandwich. Having, with great industry and diligence, acquired a knowledge of the Indian language, he began to preach the gospel to some of the savages in his own neighbourhood; and meeting with considerable encouragement and success among them, he extended his labours to those in other quarters, and succeeded in bringing numbers of them to the profession of the Christian faith. *(a)*

Sensible, however, of the importance of the Indians possessing some territory of their own, on which they might fix their residence, both in order to the evangelizing and civilization of them, Mr. Bourne, about the year 1660, procured for them, it is said at his own expence, a grant of land at Mashpee, a place about fifty miles from Boston; and not content with the Indian deeds, according to the forms usual at that period, his son afterwards obtained a ratification of them by the court of Plymouth, and an entailment of the property to the Indians and their children for ever; so that no part of it could be sold to any White person, without the consent of all the Indians, not even by an act of the general court itself. Never, perhaps, was a place better chosen for an Indian town. It was situated on the Sound, in sight of Martha's Vineyard, and not only lay contiguous to the sea, but was watered by three rivers and three lakes, in the centre of the territory. In the bays were abundance of fish, of every description; in the rivers were trout, herring, &c.; in the woods were plenty of game; and adjacent to the rivers and lakes, were otters, minks, and other amphibious animals, the furs of which furnished the Indians with a valuable article of commerce. *(b)*

(a) Mass. Hist. Coll. vol. iii. p. 189.—Gookin *in* Mass. Hist. Coll. vol. i. p. 196.

(b) Mass. Hist. Coll. vol. iii. p. 189, 190.

In 1666, the venerable Mr. Eliot, accompanied by the governor and several other magistrates and ministers, and a great multitude of people, held a meeting at Mashpee, when a considerable number of the Indians made a public profession of their knowledge of the gospel, their faith in Christ, and their obedience to him, with such understanding, seriousness, and affection, as proved highly gratifying to the pious auditory. But such was the strictness of the good people in this affair, that, as in Massachusetts, they would not countenance the admission of them into Christian fellowship, until their confessions were written, and circulated among all the churches in the colony, and had obtained their approbation. As these, however, were highly approved of, the Indians were afterwards constituted into a church, and Mr. Bourne ordained over them as their pastor. *(c)*

The Indians among whom Mr. Bourne laboured, appear still, however, to have been scattered through a number of towns and villages. In 1674, they amounted to about five hundred, who lived in upwards of twenty different places. Of these, ninety were baptized, and twenty-seven were in full communion; no fewer than one hundred and forty-two were able to read Indian, seventy-two were taught to write, and nine could read English. Besides these, there were upwards of a hundred children, who had lately begun to read and write, but were not included in this enumeration. Some of these Indians, by their general conduct, afforded pleasing evidence of a work of grace in their hearts; but many of them, it must likewise be acknowledged, were very loose in their behaviour, and occasioned good Mr. Bourne unexpressible trouble and sorrow. *(d)* *

(c) Mather, book iii. p. 199.—Mass. Hist. Coll. vol. i. p. 198, vol. iii. p 190.

(d) Gookin *in* Mass. Hist. Coll. vol. i. pp. 196, 198, 199.—Mass. Hist. Coll. vol. iii. p. 191.

* The following Table exhibits a more particular detail

After the death of Mr. Bourne, an Indian preacher named Simon was settled over his countrymen, and he appears to have laboured among them for upwards of forty years. In 1693, there were at Mashpee, and two neighbouring villages, 214 catechumens, who attended on the preaching of the gospel, besides some others who had no fixed place of residence; nor do they, on the whole, seem to have decreased in number in the course of the following century, for in 1794, there were still at Mashpee between eighty and ninety Indian houses. The race, indeed, was mixed, but the Indian blood prevailed in a considerable degree. The whole of them valued themselves on being Christians, and some of them were an honour to their profession, but with many of them it was otherwise. They were more civilized, however, than any other Indians in the commonwealth, but

of the towns, numbers, and acquirements of the Indians under Mr. Bourne's care in 1674 :—

Places.	Men and Women.	Children.	Total.	Read Indian.	Read English.	Write.
Meeshawn & Punonakanit, . . .	51	21	72	25	—	16
Putanumaquut and Nawsett, . . .	24	20	44	7	—	2
Manamoyik, . . .	42	29	71	20	1	15
Sawkattuket, Nobsquasset, Matakees, and Weequakut,	55	67	122	33	4	15
Satuit, Pawpoesit, Coatuit, Mashpee, and Wakoquet, .	70	25	95	24	2	10
Codlanmut, Ashimuit, & Weesquobs,	12	10	22	13	2	7
Pispogutt, Wawayontat, & Sokones,	20	16	36	20	—	7
Cotutitikut Assoowamsoo, . . .	35	—	35	—	—	—
	309	188	497	142	9	72

Gookin in Mass. Hist. Coll. vol. i. p. 196.

utterly unable to govern or defend themselves, being surrounded by White people, many of whom would defraud and oppress them, were they not protected by some good men in their neighbourhood. Of late years, the Indians at Mashpee have not diminished in number; it was expected they would even increase, provided their lands were still secured from alienation. In 1807, Mr. Hawley, the missionary at that place, died, after having laboured among these poor people for about fifty years. He was formerly supported by the Corporation in London for the propagation of the gospel in New-England; but that institution, having withdrawn its exhibitions from the States of America, and appropriated them to the British Colonies, he had received no support from them for a number of years, but was assisted by the society established at Boston for propagating the gospel among the Indians and others in North America. *(e)* *

(e) Mather, book vi. p. 61.—Mass. Hist. Coll. vol. iii. pp. 191, 192; vol. iv. p. 66.—Porter's Sermon before the Society at Boston for Propagating the Gospel among the Indians and others in North America, p. 23.—Miss. Mag. vol. iii. p. 183; vol. vi. p. 384.

* In 1649 an ordinance was passed by the English parliament, for the erection of a Corporation, by the name of *The President and Society for the Propagation of the Gospel in New-England*, and a general collection was appointed to be made for that purpose in all the counties, cities, towns, and parishes, of England and Wales. Noble, however, as was the design of this institution, it met with keen opposition; and many, under a variety of pretences, refused to contribute a farthing to it; a circumstance which might appear strange, did we not learn, from daily experience, that the best and most disinterested plans are sure to meet with hostility from worldly and self-interested men. Notwithstanding this, however, considerable sums were raised throughout the country at large, and lands were purchased with the money to the value of between five and six hundred pounds a year. But on the restoration of Charles II. the Corporation being dead in law, Colonel Bedingfield, a Roman Catholic, who had

Mr. John Cotton, pastor of the English church at Plymouth, was a man no less distinguished by his activity and zeal for the conversion of the Indians. Having learned their language, he preached every week to five Indian congregations, not far from Mashpee, who, at the same time,

sold them an estate of L. 322 *per annum*, basely repossessed himself of it, and refused, at the same time, to repay the money he had received for it. In 1661, however, the corporation was revived by a new charter from his Majesty, the estate which Bedingfield had so unjustly seized was restored to them, and the Hon. Mr. Boyle, a man not more distinguished as a philosopher than as a Christian, was chosen governor, an office which he held for about thirty years. (*Hazard's Historical Collections, consisting of State Papers, &c. as Materials for a History of the United States*, vol. ii. p. 147, 175, 311.; *Gookin* in *Mass. Hist. Coll.* vol. i. p. 211; *Works of the Hon. Mr. Boyle*, vol. i. p. 68, 151.) It was this Society which supported the various missionary undertakings in New-England, during the seventeenth century; and as a specimen of the expence attending exertions of this kind at that period, we shall here subjoin a copy of the accounts sent by the commissioners of the United Colonies to the Corporation in London, of the expenditure for the year 1661:—

"The account following of the Indian Stocke sent over to the Corporation.

The Stocke Creditor

Imprimis by the ballence of our last account 10. Sept. 1660 - - - -	347	12	00
Item by discount with Mr. Green over paied on account of printing Mr. Piersons Catechisme -	05	00	00
Item to bill of exchange received by Mr. Harewood of the Corporation 1661 - - -	800	00	00
	1152	12	00

The Indian Stocke is Debter

September 12: 1661

To John Latimore a messenger sent from Newhaven to Boston to cary letters to bee sent to the Corporation the ship being Reddy to sett sayle - - - - - - - - -	2	10	00

had native teachers set over them, who, on the Sabbath, and other occasions, conducted their religious worship. In 1693, the number of Indians under his care, amounted to about five hundred. *(f)*

(f) Mather, book vi. p. 61.

To six coates given to the Pequott Indians for theire encurragement - - - - -	3	02	06
To mistres Bland of the vinyards for her paines and care amongst the Indians there and for Physicke and Surgery not brought to account last year - - - - - - -	05	00	00
To mr. Mayhew that hee distributed to well deserueing Indians - - - - - -	02	10	00
To sundry disbursments upon the account of printing as appeers by account now sent -	196	19	01
To seurall bookes deliuered to the Indian Scollers and Mathew Mayhew* as by accounts appeers - - - - - - - -	08	17	11
To the Gouernor of Newhauen in lue of fiue pounds allowed him in our last yeares account to distribute amongst the well deserueing Indians which was sent to him from Boston by Joseph Alsop whoe was cast away att Sea -	05	00	00
To Mr. James of Easthampton for his paines in Instructing the Indians att Long Iland and fitting himselfe for that worke the last yeare ending September (60) but not brought to account till now - - - - - - - - -	10	00	00
To Mr. Peirson for extraordinary paines attending publicke meetings of the Indians in the bay &c which was not brought to account ; which was allowed him the last yeare - - -	10	00	00
To him for his Sallery this yeare ending September 1661 - - - - -	30	00	00
To Mr. John Elliot senr. for his Sallery now due	50	00	00

* Mathew Mayhew was the son of Mr. Thomas Mayhew, who was lost at sea in 1657. He was educating for a missionary at the expence of the Corporation.

About the same time, Mr. Samuel Treat of Eastham, preached the gospel to four assemblies of Indians, in different villages, not far from Cape Cod. These congregations had also native preachers settled among them, who repaired every week to Mr. Treat, to be further instructed in the exercise of their ministry. In 1693, the Indians in that

To Job his interpreter and 4 scoolmasters Robert sometims a scoolmaster att Cambridge, John Magus, Powanpam and vpacowillin ten pounds a peece - - - -	40	00	00
To Mr. John Elliot Junr. for his Sallery for the yeare past ending September 61 - -	25	00	00
To Mr. Joseph Elliot for the like - -	10	00	00
To Mr. Thomas Mayhew of the vinyards for his sallery - - - - -	30	00	00
More for his extreordinary paines charge and trouble for the time past amongst the Indians there - - - - -	10	00	00
To 8 Indian Scoolmasters and Teachers of the Indians there viz: To Sakomas Memeekeen Takanah Kisquich Samuell Manaso James and Annawanitt - - - -	30	00	00
To wheele Cards and Cotten woole to Imploy the Indian weemen att the vinyards to bee kept as a comon Stocke for them - -	10	00	00
To mistris Mayhew the Relicte of Mr. Thomas Mayhew for her Incurragement and support -	10	00	00
To Fesenden of Cambridge for the Diett of Mathew Mayhew - - - -	08	00	00
To Peter Folger a Teacher att the vinyard -	20	00	00
To mistris Bland for her paines care and Physicke for the Indians att the Vinyard for this yeare and to satisfy her for what was short of her expectation and expence the last yeare -	05	00	00
To mr. Danforth of Cambridge for the Diett and clothing of 4 Indian Scollars for one yeare ending att October next att 15lb. a peece -	60	00	00
To the Clothing of Mathew Mayhew for the yeare past - - - - - -	05	00	00
To woode to the Scoole - - -	00	18	00

quarter amounted to upwards of five hundred. They had four schools established among them for the instruction of their children in reading and writing their own language, and many of them were sober, serious, and civilized in their manners. *(g)*

(g) Mather, book vi. p. 60.

To clothing an Indian at his first coming -	1	00	00
To mr. Corbett for teaching 4 Indians and Mathew Mayhew - - -	12	00	00
To. mr. Weld of Rocksbury for the Diet Clothing and Teaching of 2 Indians Boyes one yeare ending the 10th December next - -	30	00	00
To mr. Bourne of Sandwich for his constant Teaching and Instructing the Indians in those parts - - - - - - - -	25	00	00
To mr. William Thompson for teaching the Indians there - - - - -	20	00	00
To major Atherton for keeping courts amongst the Indians and instructing them - -	15	00	00
To the Gouernors of Plymouth Conecticott and Newhauen to distribute amongst well deserueing Indians 5lb a peece - - - -	15	00	00
To Thomas Staunton for his sons maintainance according to former agreement - -	25	00	00
The totall is - - -	738	08	01
Soe there Rest to Ballence -	414	04	3

Which said ballence of 414lb 4s. 3 is all resting in mr. Vshers hands."

To this general view of the expenditure of one year we shall add some items of the expence attending the printing of the Bible, &c. in the Indian language:

" To 2 barrels of Inke and leather for balls -	20	00	00
To 160 Ream of paper at 6s. per ream -	48	00	00
To printing the title sheet to the New Testament	01	00	00
To printing 1500 Cattachismes - - -	15	00	00
To printing 21 sheets of the old Testament at 3lb 10s per sheet Mr. Johnson being absent -	73	10	00

In 1693, there were also about an hundred and eighty Indians near Sandwich, to whom Mr. Thomas Tupper preached the gospel, and of whose Christian character he expressed a charitable hope. This gentleman usually went by the name of Captain Tupper, for he was a military man as well as an evangelist, and is said to have been a little tinctured with enthusiasm *(h)*

Besides these, it is probable there were a number of other praying Indians in Plymouth colony, for, in 1685, only eight years before, Mr. Hinkley, tbe governor, in an account which he transmitted to the Corporation in England, informs us that they amounted to no fewer than 1439, besides boys and girls under twelve years of age, who were not included in the enumeration, and who, it was supposed, were more than three times that number. *(i)*

Even during a great part of the eighteenth century, the number of Indians within the ancient boundaries of Plymouth colony was still considerable. In 1763 they amounted

(h) Mather, book vi. p. 61.—Mass. Hist. Coll. vol. iii. p. 188, 199.

(i) Hutchinson, vol. i. p. 349.

To printing 25 sheets with his healp att 50 shill: per sheet - - - - - - -	62	10	00
To printing the Indian Psalms 13 sheets att 2lb per sheet - - - - - - -	26	00	00
To printing Mr. Baxters Call 8 sheets at 50s per sheet - - - - - - - -	20	00	00
To printing 9 sheets of the Psalter at 20s per sheet - - - - - - - -	9	00	00
To two hundred Indian Bibles bound and clasped 2s. 6d. - - - - - - - -	25	00	00
To two hundred Practice of Piety at 6d. -	05	00	00
To 4 hundred Mr. Baxters Call bound at 3s per hundred - - - - - - -	00	12	00
To 4 hundred and fifty Indian Gramers at 3s per hundred - - - - - - -	00	13	6

—*Hazard*, vol. ii. p. 442, 459, 495, 508.

to 905, including men, women, and children; namely, 223 in the county of Plymouth, 515 in the county of Barnstable, and 167 in the county of Bristol. Since that period, however, they have greatly diminished in number; and at present there is no Indian church in the whole district, except at Mashpee, of which we have already given an account. *(k)*

SECTION IV.

New Stockbridge.

ABOUT the year 1720, the General Assembly of the province of Massachusetts granted two townships on the river Housatunnuk to some White people who were desirous of settling in that quarter of the country. The tribe commonly known by the name of the River Indians, who were the original proprietors of the land, had sold it to them, with the reservation of two small tracts of ground, on each of which a few of their families continued to reside. When the English settled in that neighbourhood, they naturally became acquainted with these Indians, and found that Kunkapot, the principal person among them, was a man of an excellent character, temperate, industrious, prudent, upright, and even favourably disposed toward Christianity. Inquiry being made, whether they were willing to receive a minister among them, to instruct them in the principles of religion, to teach them to read, and to learn them other useful arts, they agreed to the proposal after a consultation of four days; and

(k) Mass. Hist. Coll. vol. i. p. 201.

as a confirmation and record of the transaction, accepted of the belt of wampum which was presented to them. *(a)**

Previous to this transaction, the zeal of Mr. John Sergeant for the conversion of the heathen was not unknown, as he had freely declared in conversation, he would rather be employed as a missionary among the Indians, than accept of an invitation from any English congregation; and long before he had any prospect of being engaged in that capacity, it had been a petition in his daily prayers, that God would send him to these unenlightened Pagans, and render him instrumental in turning them from the error of their ways to the wisdom of the just. He had already finished his course of study at Yale College, and was now employed as a tutor in that seminary; but no sooner was he invited to go as a missionary among the Housatunnuk Indians, than he consented to the proposal, cheerfully exchanging the pleasures of a college life, which to him was no small sacrifice, for a residence among a savage and barbarous people. "I should be ashamed," said he, "to call myself a *Christian*, or even a *man*, and yet refuse to do what lay in my power to cultivate

(a) Hopkin's Historical Memoirs relating to the Housatunnuk Indians, and to the success of the gospel among them under the ministry of the late Rev. John Sergeant, 1763.

* A wampum is a small cylinder, about one-third ot an inch long, with a hole drilled through the middle of it, and is made of the shell of some sea fish, polished very smooth. A number of these strung together on threads, is called a belt of wampum. Some of them are black, some white; but the former are reckoned most valuable. They were the only money used by the Indians before the Europeans visited the country; they were also used as ornaments about their necks, wrists, &c. and they are uniformly employed in all their treaties as a confirmation of them, and are the only records which they keep. Without a belt of wampum, a message or an agreement would be reckoned null and void. *Hopkin's Mem.*

humanity among a people naturally ingenious enough, but who, for want of instruction, live so much below the dignity of human nature, and to promote the salvation of souls perishing in the dark, when yet the light of life is so near them." *(b)*

In October 1734, Mr. Sergeant, accompanied by the Rev. Mr. Bull, set out for Housatunnunk, and after being obliged to lodge one night in the woods, without either fire or shelter, and to ride through a most dreary wilderness, and over roads scarcely passable, he arrived at the place of his destination. On the following day he addressed a short discourse to the Indians; and though his adult hearers were only about twenty in number, they appeared to listen with great attention, particularly Kunkapot and his family. Ebenezer the interpreter being very desirous of baptism, Mr. Bull examined him concerning his knowledge of Christianity, and his resolution to regulate his life by its precepts; and having obtained from him a pretty good account of the principles of religion, and a declaration that he would rather burn in the fire than forsake the truth, he baptized him a few days after, as the first fruits of the mission. *(c)* *

(b) Hopkin's Mem. *(c)* Ibid.

* A few days after, Ebenezer, when on a short journey with Mr. Sergeant, gave him some account of the manners, customs, and opinions of the Indians. Many of them were singularly ridiculous; but this very circumstance renders them the more curious. The seven stars, they imagine, are so many Indians translated to heaven in a dance; and the stars in Charles' Wain they suppose, are so many men hunting a bear. In the spring, according to them, they begin the chace, and continue it all the summer. By the fall, they have wounded the animal, the blood of which changes the colour of the leaves into red. By the winter they have killed it; the snow is then made of its fat, and this being afterwards melted, forms the sap of trees! The reader, perhaps, is disposed to smile at the credulity of the Indians; yet, probably, many of our notions in religion, as well as in philosophy, may appear as ridiculous in the eyes of Infinite Wisdom. *Hopkin's Mem.*

As the Indians lived in two different places, about eight or ten miles distant from each other, it was agreed, that during the winter season they should come and dwell together in a central situation between them, that so both parties might equally enjoy the benefit of Mr. Sergeant's instructions. Here they, accordingly, began to build a number of small huts for their families; and they also erected a house to serve as a place of worship on the Sabbath, and as a school through the week. In the spring, however, it was necessary for them to return to their old habitations, to plant their corn, &c. *(d)*

Scarcely, however, had Mr. Sergeant entered on his labours among the Indians, when the Dutch traders in the neighbourhood endeavoured to frustrate the attempt and to ruin his character by the basest and most artful insinuations. As they derived great profits from selling the Indians rum, and by striking bargains with them when they were in a state of intoxication, they were justly apprehensive, that should Christianity prevail among them, they would be able to make gain of them no longer. They, therefore, told them, that the religion that Mr. Sergeant taught them was not a good religion; that the friendship he professed for them was merely pretended; and that he designed at length to make slaves of them and their children. By these, and similar insinuations, they so prejudiced the minds of the Indians, that many of them were greatly disgusted and incensed against Mr. Sergeant. By his friendly behaviour and prudent representations, he succeeded, however, in allaying their resentment, conciliating their affections, and regaining their confidence. *(e)*

But it was not long before there arose a new source of uneasiness. Among the Indians, it is customary not to conclude any affair of importance, without consulting the several branches of the nation; but as the Indians of Housatunnuk had proceeded so far without the consent of their breth-

(d) Hopkin's Mem. *(e)* Ibid.

ren, they were now apprehensive lest their conduct should be condemned at the general meeting of the tribe, which was soon to take place, especially as it was reported that the Indians of Hudson's River were highly incensed with them on this account; and that there was even a design on foot to poison their two principal men. Happily, however, when the assembly met, they were so far from condemning the measure, that they expressed themselves thankful on account of it, and even gave some ground to hope, that the whole nation would submit to religious instruction. *(f)*

This meeting, however, was concluded with a frolic and a drinking match, agreeably to the usual custom of the Indians. Their dancing, on these occasions, is not only a laborious, but a dangerous exercise; and it is a striking proof of the power of habit over the human frame, that it is not more frequently followed by fatal consequences. They dance, Mr. Sergeant informs us, round a large fire, till they are nearly ready to faint, and are completely drenched with sweat. They then run out of the house, strip themselves naked, expose their warm bodies to the cold air; or if there be snow on the ground, roll themselves in it, till they are perfectly cooled. They then return to the dance; and when they are again hot and tired, cool themselves in a similar manner. This operation they repeat, probably, four or five times in the course of the night, concluding the whole with excessive drinking; and when they are drunk, they often fall asleep in the open air, perhaps buried in snow. *(g)*

Soon after this meeting, several of them were taken ill, and two of them suddenly died of a violent fever. Easy as it was to account for their death from natural causes, especially as, at the time of their dance, the weather was extremely cold, and there was a deep snow on the ground, the Indians were persuaded it was the effect of poison, and resolved to apply to the invisible powers for the discovery of the murderers. Mr. Sergeant was then absent; but Mr.

(f) Hopkin's Mem. *(g)* Ibid.

Woodbridge, his assistant in the Indian school, having heard of their design, rode down to the place of their meeting; and, on his arrival, found upwards of forty of them assembled in the wigwam of one of their chiefs. The house was swept clean, large fires were kindled, and the Indians were sitting around them from one end of the hut to the other; only in one quarter, a space of about five or six feet was left for the powaws or conjurers. Each of the Indians had two sticks, about a foot and a half long, one of them split at the end, which he held under his legs. When Mr. Woodbridge arrived, they were all prepared for the exercise; but had not as yet begun it. He asked them, whether they would allow him to be present at the ceremony; but before they returned him an answer, the oldest priest lifted up his eyes to heaven, and spoke with great earnestness, after which they told him he might remain. They then began to sing and rap with their sticks, and in the meanwhile, the eldest powaw was sitting, and talking and acting a different part from all the rest. This lasted about an hour. The priest then rose from his seat, threw off all his clothes, except a flap about his middle, and in this naked state passed from one end of the hut to the other, with his eyes closed, to appearance in most exquisit agony, and employing the most frightful and distorted gestures, it is almost possible to imagine. This continued about another hour. The first powaw being exhausted, at length retired; a second then rose and acted the same part; afterwards a third, and finally, a fourth. In this manner they spent the whole night, except a few short intervals, during which, they either smoked a pipe, or they all rose up in a body and danced. They did not appear, however, to gain their object; and on Mr. Woodbridge representing to them the folly and criminality of such a mode of worship, they promised never again to have recourse to it, and some of them even seemed extremely sorry for the step they had taken. *(h)*

(h) Hopkin's Mem.

In the course of a short time, Mr. Sergeant's hearers greatly increased in number: many of them appeared to be seriously impressed with religion; and within a few months, he had the pleasure of baptizing upwards of fifty of them, among whom were the two principal men, with their wives and children. Most of them appeared anxious to obtain religious instruction; a remarkable reformation of manners ensued among them; and vice, especially drunkenness, the sin to which, of all others, they are most addicted, seemed for the present nearly banished from among them. They themselves were surprised at the change; and expressed the difference between their former and their present state, by the terms infancy and manhood, dreaming and waking, darkness and light, and other similar metaphors. *(i)*

As the circumstance of the Indians living in two different places at a distance from each other was attended with many inconveniences, there was a design, from the commencement of the mission, to grant them some new ground in the neighbourhood in exchange for part of their lands, that so they might all live in one town, and that there might be room for others of the tribe who might be disposed to join them. But when this proposal was made to them, they at first viewed it with extreme jealousy, apprehending that the English had some ill design under it; but, at length, through the prudent exertions of Mr. Sergeant and the faithfulness of the government in the whole transaction, their suspicions were, in a great measure, removed, and the affair was brought to a happy termination. *(k)*

In May 1736, the Indians settled in their new town, which was called Stockbridge, and was situated in the great meadow above the mountain Housatunnuk, the whole of which was now appropriated to their use. Notwithstanding their former jealousies, they were greatly pleased with the

(i) Hopkin's Mem. *(k)* Ibid.

arrangement; and they now applied so diligently to husbandry, that even in the first year, they planted at least three times more corn than they had ever done before. The government soon after ordered that a church forty feet by thirty, together with a school-house, should be erected for the use of the Indians, at the expence of the province. *(l)*

Even at an early period of his labours, Mr. Sergeant had perceived, that the plan he was at first obliged to adopt of preaching to the Indians through the medium of an interpreter, would answer his purpose in a very imperfect degree, being not only a slow, but a very uncertain method of communicating instruction to them. He was himself unable to judge of what was delivered to them, and had even reason to fear, that the truths he endeavoured to teach them were conveyed to their minds in a very inadequate manner; for the best interpreter that could be found, possessed but an imperfect knowledge of the principles of religion, as well as of the English terms by which they were expressed. Influenced by these considerations, he had early engaged in the study of the Indian language, and prosecuted it with the utmost assiduity. It was extremely difficult to learn, being entirely different from every other language with which he was acquainted. He even thought it a more arduous task, than it would have been to acquire all the learned languages usually taught in the schools. After about three years study, however, he attained so much knowledge of it, as to be able to pray with his people in their own tongue, and even to preach in it with some little assistance from his interpreter. He, at length, indeed, became so great a master of it, that the Indians used to say: "Our minister speaks our language better than we do ourselves." *(m)*

Previous to this period, Mr. Sergeant, with the assistance of his interpreter, had translated some prayers into the Indian language for the use of his people, together with Dr. Watt's

(l) Hopkin's Mem. *(m)* Ibid.

First Catechism, for the instruction of the children. Besides these small pieces, he afterwards translated a great part of the Bible into their language; namely, such portions of the Old Testament as appeared most useful and necessary, as the history of the creation, of the fall of man, of the call of Abraham, of the conduct of Providence to the patriarchs and the children of Israel, the prophecies concerning the coming of Christ, &c.; and the whole of the New Testament, unless we are to accept the book of Revelation, which we are uncertain whether he ever finished. *(n)*

Besides these important pursuits, Mr. Sergeant's ordinary pastoral labours, were more than double those of most other ministers. Every week he was obliged to compose four discourses, two for the Indians, and two for the English, for he had likewise some White people under his care. Those which he prepared for the Indians cost him particular labour, for he had first to write them at large in English, and then to translate them into the Mohegan language. Besides delivering all these on the Sabbath, it was his regular practice in summer to spend about an hour with the Indians after public worship in the afternoon, instructing, exhorting, and warning them, in a familiar and affectionate manner. As their language abounds in gutturals, the pronunciation of it was a most laborious exercise; so that, owing to this circumstance, combined with the number of services he performed, his strength and spirits were often so exhausted, that he was scarcely able to speak when the whole was over. *(o)*

But while Mr. Sergeant laboured with so much diligence and zeal, he met with no small trials from the Indians, as well as from other quarters. The Dutch traders in the neighbourhood, though they had not succeeded in fomenting the jealousies of the savages, never relaxed in their endeavours to corrupt them with rum; and though the Indians passed strong resolutions against drinking, and even kept them for a

(n) Hopkin's Mem. *(o)* Ibid.

considerable time, yet some of them unhappily relapsed into that and other vices, even after they appeared to be completely weaned from them. One of the chiefs, who had been peculiarly zealous against drunkenness, and seemed firmly established in the ways of godliness, conducted himself for a year or two in a very disorderly manner, was frequently intoxicated, and in other respects extremely troublesome. Afterwards, indeed, he was reclaimed from his apostacy, acknowledged his guilt, was restored to the communion of the church, and thenceforth walked like a Christian till the day of his death. The concern of Mr. Sergeant on account of these painful occurrences, it is more easy to conceive than describe. Nothing, he said, affected him with such pungent grief, his own sins excepted, as the disorderly and wicked conduct of his poor people. Many were the days he spent on this account in fasting and prayer; many were the tears he shed; sleep departed from his eyes, and he forgot to eat his bread. *(p)*

But while Mr. Sergeant's expectations were often so miserably blasted with regard to the elder Indians, he still cherished the hope of better success among the children, The Rev. Mr. Hollis, a Baptist minister near London, having generously offered to be at the expence of educating and supporting twelve Indian boys, he had accepted the proposal with joy, and was now anxious to extend the plan, by establishing a charity school for a still greater number of youth, in which they should be taught not only to read and write, but also the more common arts of life. Experience had convinced him, that the habits and customs of the Indians were a powerful impediment to the progress of Christianity, as well as of civilization among them. What progress, indeed, could either make among a people who thought it a disgrace to follow any employment except hunting or war, while the men, at other times, indulged in absolute indolence and inactivity, and the women were obliged to perform all

(p) Hopkin's Mem.

the manual labour, as gathering wood, planting, hoeing, &c. yet never learned the common arts of housewifery? Mr. Sergeant's plan, therefore, was to take their children when young, to train them from their early years to habits of industry, and to instruct both the sexes in such employments as were suitable to the station they ought to occupy in society. By this means he hoped they would not only be enabled to provide more comfortably for themselves and their families, but would be preserved from those numerous and powerful temptations to which they were necessarily exposed by their present mode of living. He was apprehensive, indeed, that the prejudices of the Indians would prove a strong, if not even an insuperable, obstruction to the execution of his plan; but their aversion to it by degrees unexpectedly vanished *(q)*

In 1743, Mr. Sergeant circulated a more particular detail of his plan; and certainly it reflects great credit on his understanding, as well as on the benevolence of his heart. He proposed to procure about two hundred acres of land in that quarter of the country; to erect upon it a building large enough to contain a number of young persons, not under ten, nor above twenty years of age; to place these youth under the care of two masters, one to take the oversight of them in their hours of labour, the other in their hours of study; and to have the day divided in such a manner between these employments, as to render the one a recreation from the other, that so as little time as possible might be lost in idleness. In the school, he proposed that they should not only all be taught to read and write, and such other branches of learning as were useful in common life; but that some, at least, should be prepared to receive an academical education, with the view of being at length employed in spreading the gospel among the more distant tribes. He also proposed, that the produce of their labour should be appropriated to their maintenance, and to the

(q) Hopkin's Mem.

general purposes of the institution; that, with the view of lessening the expence, all kinds of provisions should be raised, and a stock of cattle, sheep, hogs, &c. kept on the farm; and that, if they could be afforded, premiums should occasionally be distributed among the youth, as a reward and as an incitement to industry. If this plan succeeded, he proposed to extend the establishment so as to take in girls as well as boys; for he was fully sensible of the vast importance of the female sex in society, of the power they possess over the men, and of the influence they have in forming the character of their children. He therefore designed that they should receive an education suited to their situation and and circumstances, that they should be placed under the care of a skilful matron, who should instruct them in housewifery, and they should be employed in manufacturing the wool, flax, milk, &c. raised on the farm. By cultivating both the sexes, he thought they would have a natural and reciprocal influence in further improving each other, In this manner, he hoped, after some time, they would, in a great measure, support the institution by their own labour, that they would be formed to habits of industry from their early years, acquire the English language, learn our manners, and when arrived at a suitable age, be able to manage farms of their own. *(r)*

Such is a short sketch of Mr. Sergeant's excellent plan for the conversion and civilization of the Indians. With the view of carrying it into execution, a subscription was begun in England, and met with considerable encouragement, even from some members of the royal family. The Prince of Wales' name stood at the head of the list for twenty guineas; and when his Royal Highness the Duke of Cumberland was asked to contribute ten guineas, he generously replied, "It would be shameful in him to give so small a sum for so good a purpose," and accordingly subscribed twenty. *

(r) Hopkin's Mem.

* The Prince of Wales was applied to through the medium

Some further sums were raised in other quarters by the generosity and zeal of a few individuals; but they were by no means adequate to carry Mr. Sergeant's plan into execution, even on the smallest scale. Thus, to his inexpressible grief, he again beheld his fond hopes terminate in disappointment. *(s)*

The Rev. Mr. Hollis, however, with singular generosity, requested Mr. Sergeant to take other twelve boys, from nine to twelve years of age, and let them be educated and supported entirely at his expence. But war having soon after broke out with France and Stockbridge from its situation, being much exposed, it was deemed expedient to defer the execution of this proposal till more pacific and propitious times. Mr. Hollis being informed of this, wrote to Dr. Coleman of Boston, in 1747, insisting that it should be carried into effect without further delay. "If my money," says he, "be unemployed till the conclusion of the war, it may be a long time indeed. Do you see the least prospect in the world of it? Would you not wish to behold the Redeemer's cause carried on while you live? I am not willing to have my money of £ 350 your currency, lying useless till the war is ended." In a subsequent letter, he says, " I request that the £ 300 of my money in your

(s) Hopkin's Mem.

of the Rev. Dr. Ayscough, Clerk of the Closet, and First Chaplain to his Royal Highness. When that gentleman was informed that Mr. Sergeant was not a minister of the Church of England, but a Dissenter, he replied, " What though he be a Dissenter? He is a good man; that is every thing. It is time such distinctions were laid aside, and the partition wall thrown down, that so Christians may love one another. For his part, he loved all good men alike, whether they were Churchmen or Dissenters." Dr. Ayscough, accordingly, continued to the last a distinguished friend of Mr. Sergeant's, and of the school among the Indians.—*Hopkin's Mem.*

hands may be employed in the education of twelve new boys, of heathen parents, with all convenient speed. Yea, I absolutely insist upon it, and promise hereby to make a remittance for further charge of education and maintenance, my estate being very much increased of late, as I have had a great deal left me by a relation deceased. As to the war with France, let not that hinder it. I request it may be done speedily, if there be Indian parents willing to have their children educated." Such was the zeal of Mr. Hollis in this good work. How few are so anxious to have their money expended in promoting the glory of Christ, and the salvation of souls! *(t)*

Notwithstanding the war with France, Mr. Sergeant now prepared to carry into execution, on a small scale, the plan which for some years had lain so near his heart. With this view, he obtained from the Indians at Stockbridge, who were the proprietors of the undivided lands, about two hundred acres, as a situation for the building, and as a plantation to be cultivated by the children. Here he erected a house, thirty-eight feet long, and thirty-six broad, containing a number of apartments adapted to the purpose for which it was designed. Having previously committed the boys whom he had selected on Mr. Hollis' foundation, to the care of a gentleman in Connecticut, on account of the continuance of the war, he now removed them to this place; and he intended, in the course of the summer, to undertake a journey into the country of the Mohawks, commonly called the Six Nations, with the view of inviting them to send their children to the Charity School; and he likewise designed that it should be open to any of the other tribes of Indians who might choose to take advantage of it. *(u)*

But while Mr. Sergeant was pleasing himself with the hope of at length beholding the consummation of his favourite plan, the establishment of an Indian Charity School, a period was unexpectedly put to his labours and his usefulness

(t) Hopkin's Mem. *(u)* Ibid.

on earth. He was attacked with an imflamation of the throat, attended with fever; but notwithstanding his illness, he preached to the Indians on the following Sabbath. It was, however, the last time; and in the course of his sermon he told them, that of late he had been apprehensive some heavy judgment was hanging over them on account of their wickedness; that he feared some of them grew worse and worse, notwithstanding all God had done for them, and notwithstanding the pains he himself had taken with them; that there were many ways in which the Almighty could, and often did, testify his displeasure against a sinful people; and, added he, "perhaps God may take me from you, so that I shall speak to you no more." After this he grew worse, and was soon confined to his house and to his bed. As the Indians loved him as their father and their friend, they were much concerned at his illness, and often visited him as he lay on his death bed. On these occasions, he earnestly enforced on them the instructions, the counsels, the warnings, the admonitions, he had frequently given them in the course of his past labours charging them in the most serious and solemn manner, to attend to religion as the great concern of life, if they would meet him at last in peace. The Indians, of their own accord, assembled in the meeting-house, in order to unite together in prayer for the restoration of his health and his continuance among them. Such, however, was not the will of God. After an illness of about four weeks, he died, in the full hope of a glorious immortality, July 27, 1749, in the thirty-ninth year of his age, and the fifteenth of his labours among the Indians. *(v)*

Thus died Mr. John Sergeant, a man of such singular worth, and such various excellence, that his equal is rarely met with in the church of Christ. The brightness of his genius, the extent of his learning, the sweetness of his

(v) Hopkin's Mem.

temper, the agreeableness of his conversation, the strength and fervour of his zeal, the unweariedness of his diligence, were the least of those qualities which distinguished and ennobled his character. True and undissembled piety reflected a lustre on all his other endowments, whether natural or acquired, and qualified him to be useful, in no ordinary degree, in the church and in the world. He possessed a most tender conscience, a most catholic spirit, a most benevolent heart. He maintained a happy equilibrium in his temper, and a constant controul over his passions. He was never melancholy, yet always serious; never mirthful, yet always cheerful. He suffered not a hard, envious, angry word, to escape his lips; and even when he met with injurious treatment, instead of raising his indignation and resentment, it excited his pity and compassion. Perhaps, however, the best eulogium that can be passed on Mr. Sergeant, were the tears shed by the Indians, not only at his death, but even long after, whenever they visited his house. *(w)*

With regard to his success among the Indians, though it was not equal to the desires of his generous heart, yet it was by no means inconsiderable. When he first visited them, they lived in miserable huts, were much dispersed through the country, and were often moving from place to place: their whole number, including both old and young, was under fifty, and all of them were sunk in the depths of heathen ignorance and barbarity. When he died, they were collected together into a town, and, instead of their bark wigwams, they possessed twenty houses built in the English style; and they now amounted to no fewer than two hundred and eighteen. During the course of his labours, he had baptized one hundred and eighty-two of the Indians; of these a hundred and twenty-nine were still alive and resided at Stockbridge; and forty-two were communicants. The number who attended the school under Mr. Woodbridge

(w) Hopkin's Mem.

was fifty-five, besides those who were in the charity-school. In the town there were likewise twelve or thirteen English families, who were encouraged to take up their residence in it, with the view of promoting, by their example, the arts of industry among the Indians. *(x)*

After the death of this excellent man, the charge of the Indians devolved, for some time, on Mr. Woodbridge, the teacher of the school; and it appears that Mr. Hollis, with that generosity for which he was so remarkable, increased the number of boys to be educated and maintained at his expence, to thirty-six, for each of whom he allowed the sum of five pounds sterling a year. *(y)*

At length, however, in August 1751, that distinguished man, the Rev. Jonathan Edwards of Northampton, was settled at Stockbridge in the room of the late Mr. Sergeant. For several years past, some unhappy differences had subsisted between him and his congregation, in consequence of his faithfulness and zeal in checking the progress of immorality among the young people of his congregation, and in exercising greater strictness of discipline in the admission of church members. To the everlasting disgrace of his people, the opposition which they raised to these measures was so unchristian and so violent, that in an ecclesiastical council called for the purpose of examining into the state of the affair, it was deemed expedient to dissolve Mr. Edwards' connection with them; and when the question was publicly referred to the people, whether they still insisted upon his dismission from the pastoral office among them, a great majority, (no fewer than two hundred to twenty,) zealousy voted for the separation. After he was dismissed in this shameful manner, he occasionally preached to them, when they had no other supply; but even this gave great umbrage to many of them; and at a meeting of the congregation, they passed a vote, that it was not agreeable to them, that their late pastor should preach among them. Accordingly, when they had

(x) Hopkin's Mem. *(y)* Ibid. p. 163, 173.

no other minister, even though Mr. Edwards was in town, they carried on some kind of worship among themselves, rather than invite him to preach to them. Such was the conduct of a Christian congregation to this illustrious man :— a man who, for talents and learning, for judgment and piety, for faithfulness and zeal, has had few equals in the church of Christ. *(z)*

When Mr. Edwards entered on his labours at Stockbridge, there appeared a fair prospect of his being extensively useful, not only among the Indians of that town, but among the Mohawks, some of whom came thither and brought a number of their own and their neighbours' children with them to be educated in the charity school. This was a measure which the General Court of Massachusetts were anxious to promote, and with the view of forwarding it, they provided lands on which the Mohawks might settle. *(a)*

Partly, however, through some unhappy differences among those who had the chief management of the Indian affairs at Stockbridge, who, strange to tell, were divided into violent parties, *(b)* and partly through the war between England and France, this fair prospect was blasted like a blossom in spring. Mr. Edwards' labours, in this place, were attended with no remarkable success, though he performed the duties of his office to the satisfaction of the inhabitants in general, both Indian and English, as well as of the commissioners who had the superintendance of the mission, and who placed great confidence in his judgment relative to every thing connected with it. *(c)*

But though Mr. Edwards appears to have had no remarkable success as a missionary among the Indians, the time he spent at Stockbridge was by no means lost to the world or

(z) The Life and Character of the late Rev. Jonathan Edwards, together with eighteen select Sermons, p. 86, 62.

(a) Hopkin's Mem.—Edwards' Life, p. 86.

(b) Mass. Hist. Coll. vol. iv. p. 55.

(c) Edwards' Life, p. 87.

the church of Christ. Being here less exposed to interruption than at Northampton, he applied himself to study with more incessant diligence, and with greater success than ever. During the period of his residence at Stockbridge, he added more to his manuscripts, than within the same space, in any other period of his life; and it was at this time that he wrote the two last works he published, on the Freedom of the Will and on Original Sin. *(d)*

After labouring upwards of six years as a missionary at Stockbridge, Mr. Edwards received an invitation to be the President of the New-Jersey College. As he had no expectation of this, it filled him with the greatest astonishment and concern; for though he was a man of distinguished talents and learning, he was no less remarkable for his modesty and humility. He considered himself as so unqualified for this important station, that he wondered how gentlemen of so much judgment, and so well acquainted with him as some of the trustees were, should have thought of him for a moment. "My defects," says he, in a letter which he addressed to them, "unfit me for such an undertaking, many of which are generally known, besides others of which my heart is conscious. I have a constitution, in many respects, peculiarly unhappy, attended with flaccid solids, scarce fluids, and a low tide of spirits, often occasioning a kind of childish weakness and contemptibleness of speech, presence and demeanour; with a disagreeable dulness and stiffness, much unfitting me for conversation, but more especially for the government of a college. The poorness of constitution makes me shrink at the thoughts of undertaking, in the decline of life, such a new and great work, attended with such a multiplicity of cares, and requiring such a degree of activity and alertness, and spirit of government, especially as succeeding one" (the late President Burr) "so remarkably well qualified in these respects, giving occasion to every person to remark the wide difference between us. Besides, I am deficient in some

(d) Edwards' Life, p. 87.

parts of learning, particularly in algebra and the higher parts of mathematics, and the Greek classics, my knowledge of Greek being chiefly confined to the New Testament." *(e)*

Mr. Edwards, however, did not positively reject the invitation, but agreed to take the advice of some of his friends in the ministry on the subject. By his desire, a number of them, accordingly, met at Stockbridge, and after hearing his representation of the matter, and the objections of his people to his removal, they determined that it was his duty to accept of the presidency of the college. When they made known this advice to him, Mr. Edwards appeared uncommonly moved, and burst into tears, a thing very unusual with him, in the presence of others. He soon after said to them, it was matter of wonder to him how they could so easily get over the objections he had made against his removal to be the head of a college; but as he thought it was incumbent on him to be directed by their advice, he should now endeavour cheerfully to undertake the office, believing that he was in the path of his duty. *(f)*

Mr. Edwards, agreeably to the advice of his friends, now left Stockbridge; but he had scarcely arrived at Princetown, the seat of the college, when it was thought necessary to inoculate him with the small-pox, as he had never had that disorder, and it was then raging in the country. The disease was at first moderate, and he was even considered as out of all danger; but afterwards it assumed an alarming aspect, and, at length, put a period to his invaluable life, March 22, 1758, in the fifty-fifth year of his age, and only about two months after his removal from Stockbridge. *(g)*

At Stockbridge, Mr. Edwards was succeeded by a Mr. West; but the unhappy animosities which still subsisted among those who had the superintendance of the mission, rendered his situation so uncomfortable, and so clouded his prospects of usefulness, that he at length resigned the under-

(e) Edward's Life, p. 88. *(f)* Ibid. p. 93.
(g) Ibid .p. 94.

taking, and was succeeded by Mr. John Sergeant, *(h)* son of the original founder of the settlement. *(i)* Of the state of the mission for a number of years, we possess little or no information. During the American war, the Indians suffered materially, both in their temporal and spiritual interests, by serving a few campaigns in the army of the United States. A large proportion of their most promising young men were killed in battle, while the others were confirmed in their habits of idleness and intemperance. One of the parties, to which we have more than once alluded, had, for many years, wished to remove them from their old territory ; and soon after the conclusion of the war, they procured their removal to the country of the Oneida Indians, who offered them land on which to settle. *(k)* Here they built a town, which they called New Stockbridge, about 350 miles from Boston, and 160 from the place of their former residence ; and since that period, their pastor, Mr. Sergeant, has been under the patronage of the Society in Scotland for propagating Christian Knowledge, though the mission has likewise derived material assistance from various other quarters. By the removal of the Indians to this part of the country, they have been materially benefited in a temporal point of view. They now possess more territory than before, having a tract of land six miles square ; they were, for some time, less exposed to temptations, in consequence of their greater distance from the White people ; they have made a division of their lands, so that each now holds his property as his own individual right ; and they have become more industrious, sober, and comfortable. *(l)*

(h) Mass. Hist. Coll. vol. iv. p. 55.

(i) Evangelical Magazine, vol. xvii. p. 183.

(k) Mass. Hist. Coll. vol. iv. p. 55 ; vol. i. p. 195.—Fraser's Sermon before the Society in Scotland for propagating Christian Knowledge, App. p. 46.

(l) Mass. Hist. Coll. vol. vi. p. 69 ; vol. v. p. 26.

In 1796, the number of Indians at New Stockbridge was about three hundred. None of them were professed Pagans; but only thirty were members of the church, most of whom were women. About two-thirds of the men, and nine-tenths of the women, were considered as industrious. Husbandry, and the breeding of cattle and swine, were their chief employments; they had also a few sheep and a little flax. The land was, in general, under cultivation, and in tolerable order. By the assistance of a grant of money from the United States, they had erected a saw-mill; and they were soon after furnished by the Quakers of Philadelphia, who of late have made some laudable attempts for the civilization of the Indians in different parts of America, with a grist-mill for grinding corn. They also proposed erecting a smith's shop; and as soon as they could afford it, they designed to encourage, by premiums, the raising of flax and grain, the cleaning of woods, the increase of sheep, and the manufacture of woollen and linen cloth. *(m)*

Since the commencement of the nineteenth century, considerable additions have been made to Mr. Sergeant's congregation at New Stockbridge, so that it is probable, the Indians under his care are now not fewer than four hundred. *(n)* Some of the other tribes have also manifested a disposition to receive the gospel, and to cultivate the arts of civilization. In 1802, the Stockbridge Indians sent a delegation to several of the western nations, particularly to their *Grandfathers* the Delawares, who are considered as the head of the other tribes. They urged them to receive the gospel; declared the temporal as well as spiritual advantages which they themselves had derived from it; and represented the dangers to which they would be exposed, if they continue to reject it. The Delawares thanked them for their visit; and it appears

(m) Mass. Hist. Coll. vol. v. p. 13, 16, 22.—Missionary Mag. vol. iii. p. 210.

(n) Religious Monitor, vol. i. p. 189.

that then, or soon after, they "unanimously agreed to accept and take hold with both hands," of the offer made to them of introducing the gospel and civilization among them. *(o)* In consequence of an invitation from the Onondago Indians, Mr. Sergeant visited them in June 1806, and was graciously received by them. After he had addressed them for some time on various subjects connected with their present and future welfare, one of the chiefs made a reply, in which, after thanking him in the name of the whole assembly, for communicating to them the mind of the Great Spirit, and for giving them good counsel, he said that they designed to follow his advice, to cease from working on the Sabbath, to meet together and worship God, to labour diligently on their lands, and attend to their cattle that they might have bread and clothing for their families, and to abandon the use of spirituous liquors, which had been the bane of themselves and their ancestors. *(p)* There appears some prospect of the establishment of a school, the introduction of Christianity, and the progress of the arts of civilization, among some of the Western tribes, by means of several of the Stockbridge Indians who have been sent to settle among them for these important purposes. *(q)*

(o) Livingstone's Sermon before the New-York Missionary Society, App. p. 85.—Relig. Mon.

(p) Miss. Mag. vol. xiii. p. 124—Mr. Sergeant's Journal, MS. in the possession of the Society in Scotland for propagating Christian Knowledge.

(q) Morse's Sermon before the Society in Boston for propagating the Gospel among the Indians and others in North America, p. 53.

SECTION V.

New-Jersey.

WE now come to the history of a mission which exhibited a singular display of the power of the divine grace among the Indians; and which has justly commanded the admiration of the Christian world, on account of the faith and the patience, the zeal, the self-denial, the elevated piety displayed in the conduct of it, no less than by the extraordinary success with which it was attended. Of the rise and progress of this interesting mission, we are happily able to give a more particular account, than of those we have already recorded.

In April, 1743, Mr. David Brainerd, a young man of distinguished piety, entered on his labours as a missionary among the Indians, under the patronage of the Society in Scotland for propagating Christian Knowledge, at a place called Kanaumeek, about twenty miles from Albany, in the province of New-York. The situation was extremely lonely: it was in the midst of a wilderness, surrounded by woods and mountains, about twenty miles from the nearest English inhabitant. Here he lodged with a family who had lately come from the Highlands of Scotland, sleeping on a bundle of straw, and living on the coarsest fare; while almost the only language he heard was Gælic or Indian, neither of which he understood. As he was naturally of a melancholy temper, the dreariness of the country, the solitariness of the place, the uncomfortableness of his circumstances, contributed not a little to foster that unhappy disposition of mind. After he had been about three months in this quarter, he drew the following gloomy picture of his views and feelings: "My soul has for a long time past been in a truly pitiable condition. Sometimes I have been so overwhelmed with a sense of my insignificance and unworthiness, that I have been ashamed, that any, not excepting the meanest of my fellow creatures,

should so much as spend a thought about me: Sometimes when travelling among the thick brakes, I have wished, that like them, I might drop into everlasting oblivion: Sometimes I have almost resolved never again to see any of my acquaintance, thinking I could not hold up my face before them; and have longed for the remotest corner on earth, as a retreat from all my friends, that I might never be seen or heard of more: Sometimes, the consideration of my ignorance, has occasioned me great anxiety and distress; but my soul has in a particular manner been full of anguish from fear, and guilt, and shame, because I had ever preached the gospel, or had any thought of that important work: Sometimes I have been in deep distress, on feeling some particular corruption rise in my breast, and swell like a mighty torrent; while, at the same time, ten thousand sins and follies presented themselves to my view, in all their native blackness and deformity. Such things as these have weighed down my soul, combined as they are with those unfavourable external circumstances, in which I am at present placed:—destitute of most of the conveniences of life, at least of all its pleasures; without a friend to whom I may unbosom my sorrows; and sometimes without a place of retirement, where I may unburden my soul before God." *(a)*

The place where Mr. Brainerd lodged being at some distance from the Indians, he found this extremely inconvenient, as it obliged him to travel backwards and forward, almost daily, on foot; and notwithstanding his utmost endeavours, he could not be with them in the morning and evening, the seasons when they were most generally at home, and when they were most at liberty to attend to instruction. He, therefore, took up his residence among them, and lodged at first in one of their wigwams, until he succeeded in erecting a small cottage for himself. Here he lived quite alone, and though his situation was far from agreeable, yet it was much more comfortable than before. Scarcely, however,

(a) Brainerd's Life, Edit. 1798. p. 550, 294, 89.

had he removed into his little hut, when he was attacked with such extreme weakness, and such severe pains, that he thought his mortal frame would soon sink into the grave, and mingle with its kindred dust. But though he was so very ill, he was obliged to labour hard from day to day, in order to procure fodder for his horse, while at the same time he was in a great measure destitute of provisions suitable for himself: "I had no bread," says he, "neither could I obtain any. I am forced either to go or send ten or fifteen miles for all the bread I need; and if I get any considerable quanti y, it is sometimes sour and mouldy before I have used the whole, and then, perhaps, I have none for some days together. Such is my situation at present; but, through the goodness of God, I had some Indian meal, of which I made little cakes and fried them. Still, however, I felt satisfied with my situation, and sweetly resigned to the will of heaven. In prayer I enjoyed great freedom; and blessed God as cordially for my present circumstances, as if I had been a king. I thought, indeed, I found a disposition to be contented in any situation." *(b)*

When Mr. Brainerd came to Kanaumeek, he found the Indians much more favourably disposed toward Christianity than might naturally have been expected, a circumstance which he attributed to the beneficial influence of Mr. Sergeant's exertions among a number of the same tribe at Stockbridge, which was only about twenty miles distant. In labouring among them, he studied to instruct them chiefly in those principles of religion which he deemed most important, and most calculated to promote their conversion to the Redeemer, endeavouring, at the same time, to make them level to the comprehension of the weakest and most ignorant of them. Having written some forms of prayers suited to their circumstances and capacity, he made an Indian translation of them by the help of his interpreter, and learned from him to pronounce the words, so as to pray with

(b) Brainerd's Life, p. 550, 91, 93.

them in their own language. He translated, in the same manner, several of the Psalms of David, and taught his people to sing them in the praise of God. There was also an English school taught by his interpreter, which he used often to visit, in order to give the children some serious instructions and exhortations, adapted to their capacity, and suited to their tender years. *(c)*

Though these labours of Mr. Brainerd were not productive of any remarkable effects, yet neither were they altogether in vain. The knowledge of Christianity, which some of the Indians acquired, was far from contemptible; the proficiency which the children at school made in the English language was considerable; and there were even several, on whose consciences the word appeared to make a serious impression. Some of them came to Mr. Brainerd of their own accord, to converse with him about the things which belonged to their eternal peace; several enquired, with tears in their eyes, "What they should do to be saved?" He could not, indeed, say that he had satisfactory evidence of the conversion of any of them, but there was a considerable reformation of manners among them. Their idolatrous sacrifices were entirely abolished; their heathenish dances were, in a great degree, abandoned; their habits of drunkenness were, in some measure, corrected; and the observation of the Sabbath was established among them and their children. *(d)*

After spending about a year among the Indians in this quarter, Mr. Brainerd informed them, that he expected soon to leave them, and to go among a tribe of their brethren at a great distance. On receiving this information, they appeared extremely sorrowful; some of them tried to pursuade him to remain with them, urging this as a reason, that as they had now heard so much about religion, they could no longer live as before without a minister, to instruct them in the way to heaven. In reply to this, Mr. Brainerd told them, that they ought to be

(c) Brainerd's Life, p. 551. *(d)* Ibid. p. 553.

willing that their brethren also should hear the gospel, as they stood in no less need of it than themselves. Still, however, they endeavoured to disuade him from his purpose, saying, the Indians to whom he proposed to go, they had heard, were not willing to become Christians. He then told them, they could enjoy religious instruction merely by removing to Stockbridge, where Mr. Sergeant was labouring as a missionary; but the Indians to whom he expected to go could not obtain such a privilege, there being no minister in the neighbourhood to teach them. To this proposal they agreed, and most of them having soon after removed to that place, Mr. Brainerd was at full liberty to prosecute his journey to the Forks of Delaware, in the province of Pennsylvania, where he was now appointed to labour. *(e)*

In May 1744, Mr. Brainerd set off for that part of the country, though he was then extremely ill of a bloody flux. In the course of his journey, he visited a number of Indians at a place called Minissinks, about a hundred and forty miles from Kanaumeek; and, after some friendly conversation with one of the principal men, he told him, that he wished to instruct them in the principles of Christianity, and that this would materially promote their happiness, both in this world and in the world to come. The chief, however, on hearing this, laughed, turned his back, and went away. After some time Mr. Brainerd followed him into his hut, and renewed the conversation with him; but he still declined talking on that subject, and referred him to one who appeared a rational kind of man. This person, after speaking with great warmth for near a quarter of an hour, asked Mr. Brainerd, why he desired the Indians to become Christians, seeing the Christians were so much worse than the Indians. "The White people," said he, "lie, and drink, and steal more than their Red brethren.

(e) Brainerd's Life, p. 555.

It was they who first taught his countrymen to drink; and they stole from one another to such a degree, that their rulers were obliged to hang them; yet even this did not deter others from committing the same crime. But," added he "the Indians were never hanged for stealing; yet, should they become Christians, it was probable they would soon be as bad as the White people. They were resolved therefore, to live as their fathers had lived, and to go to the same place as their fathers when they died." In reply to these charges, Mr. Brainerd readily acknowledged the ill conduct of many of his countrymen; but these, he told him, were Christians only in name, not in heart; that as for himself, he abhorred such practices, and should never desire the Indians to learn them. The man now appeared more calm; But yet when Mr. Brainerd asked him, if they were willing that he should come and visit them again, he replied, they would be willing to see him as a friend, if he would not desire them to become Christians. *(f)*

Having taken farewell of these Indians, Mr. Brainerd prosecuted his journey to the Forks of Delaware; but, on his arrival in that quarter, he was greatly disordered in body, and still more distressed in his mind. It was the Sabbath morning; but here there was no Sabbath: the children were all at play; the Indians were few in number and greatly scattered; he was a stranger in the midst of them, and was disappointed of an interpreter. Every thing, in short, seemed to unite in aggravating his distress, and in rendering the prospect before him dark and cloudy. *(g)*

After saluting the chief, and some others of the Indians, in a friendly manner, he mentioned his desire of instructing them in the principles of Christianity, and having received from them a favourable answer, he preached to the few who were present, most of whom were very attentive,

(f) Brainerd's Life, p. 555. *(g)* Ibid. p. 130.

particularly the chief, who seemed both pleased and surprised at what he heard; and afterwards he was very friendly to Mr. Brainerd, and gave him full liberty to preach in his house whenever he thought fit. The number of his hearers, however, was at first very small, often not exceeding twenty-five; but afterwards they increased to forty and upwards. The Indians in this quarter were now greatly diminished, most of them being either dispersed, or removed further back into the country. There were not more than ten houses which continued to be inhabited, and even some of these were several miles distant from the others, so that it was very difficult for his little congregation to assemble together as often as he wished. *(h)*

But though Mr. Brainerd pursued his labours among these Indians with unwearied diligence and zeal, he did not rest short in any exertions of his own. Deeply impressed with the necessity of the influence of the Holy Spirit for the conversion of sinners, he combined with his assiduous endeavours the most earnest and affectionate supplications for the Divine blessing upon them. Of his importunity in prayer, as well as of his elevated piety, we have an interesting example in the exercises of his mind one day soon after his arrival in this part of the country. "This morning," says he, "I was greatly oppressed with a sense of guilt and shame, from a view of my inward vileness and depravity. About nine o'clock, I withdrew to the woods for prayer, but had not much comfort. I appeared to myself the meanest, vilest creature upon earth: I thought I could scarcely live with myself, and that I should never be able to hold up my face in heaven, if God, of his infinite mercy, should bring me thither. Towards night, the burden of my mind respecting my work among the Indians began to increase, and was much aggravated by hearing several circumstances of a discouraging nature, particularly, that they designed to meet together next day,

(h) Brainerd's Life, p. 556.

for an idolatrous feast and dance. My mind was agonized at the prospect. I thought it would be my duty to endeavour to break up the assembly; but how to do it, I knew not. In this dilemma, I withdrew for prayer, hoping for strength from on High. While engaged in this exercise, I was exceedingly enlarged: my soul was as much drawn out as I almost ever remember it to have been in my life. I was in such anguish, and pleaded with so much importunity, that when I rose, I felt so extremely weak that I could scarcely walk; my joints were loosed; the sweat ran down my body; nature seemed as if ready to dissolve. What I experienced, indeed, was inexpressible. All earthly things vanished from my sight. Nothing appeared of much importance to me, except progress in holiness, and the conversion of the Heathen to God. All my cares, desires, and fears, which might be considered as of a worldly nature, disappeared, and seemed of little more importance than a breath of wind. I longed exceedingly that God would glorify his name among the Heathen. I appealed to him with the greatest freedom, that he knew I preferred him 'above my chief joy.' Indeed, I had no idea of joy from this world: I cared not where or how I lived, or what hardships I might have to endure, if I might only gain souls to Christ." *(i)*

Though Mr. Brainerd was now settled in the Forks of Delaware, he by no means confined his labours to the Indians in that part of country. Having heard of some of these poor people at a place about thirty miles to the westward, he proceeded to visit them; but as they were then on the point of removing to the river Susquehannah, he had an opportunity of preaching only twice to them. In general, they appeared sober, friendly, and attentive. Two or three of them, indeed, suspected he had some ill design upon them, urging that the White people had maltreated them, and taken their lands from them: it was not reasonable,

(i) Brainerd's Life, p. 143.

therefore, to think they were now concerned for their happiness, but rather that they designed to make them slaves, or to carry them on board their ships, and cause them fight with the people over the water, meaning the French and Spaniards. But notwithstanding these insinuations, most of them appeared to entertain no jealousy of Mr. Brainerd's design, and invited him to visit them after their return home, and to instruct them in the principles of religion. *(k)*

Encouraged by this invitation, Mr. Brainerd proceeded shortly after to visit these Indians on the Susquehannah, accompanied by the Rev. Mr. Byram, a neighbouring minister, his interpreter, and two of his principal people from the Forks of Delaware. After the first day's journey, they had nothing before them but a vast and dreary wilderness. Here they had by far the most difficult and dangerous travelling any of them had ever experienced, having to make their way over lofty mountains, through deep valleys, and among hideous rocks. One evening Mr. Brainerd's horse hung one of its legs in the rocks, and fell under him; but through the kindness of Providence he escaped without injury. The poor animal, however, broke its leg; and being in such a dreadful place, near thirty miles from any house, nothing could be done to preserve its life: He was, therefore, obliged to kill it, and to prosecute his journey on foot. At night they kindled a fire, cut up a few bushes, and placed them over their heads as a shelter from the frost; and after committing themselves to God in prayer, they lay down on the ground and slept till morning. At length, on the fourth day, they arrived at an Indian town on the banks of the Susquehannah, called Opeholhaupung, where were twelve huts and about seventy people, including men, women, and chidren. Being received by them in a friendly manner, Mr. Brainerd remained among them several days, preaching regularly when the Indians were at home, while they, in order to

(k) Brainerd's Life, p. 557.

hear him, put off their general hunting match, upon which they were just about to enter. Before leaving them, he gave them to understand, that he would visit them again the following spring; a proposal to which the chief and others of the people readily assented. *(l)*

Many were the fatigues, the dangers, and the distresses which Mr. Brainerd endured in the course of his frequent journeys among the Indians; and no less singular were the faith, the patience, and the self-denial he manifested under trials of this description. A few weeks after his return from the Susquehannah, in travelling from the place of Mr. Byram's residence to the Forks of Delaware, a distance of about forty miles, he lost his way in the wilderness, wandered over rocks and mountains, down hideous declivities, through dreadful swamps, and other places no less dangerous. The night was dark and cold; and, to add to his misfortune, he was troubled with a severe pain in his head, accompanied with sickness at stomach, which rendered every step he took distressing to him. He had little or no expectation for several hours but that he would have to lie out all night in the woods in this melancholy condition. Providentially, however, about nine o'clock, he discovered a house, and was kindly received by the people. Yet distressing as was his situation, no expression of discontent, no murmur of complaint, dropt from his lips. His reflections on this occasion are reflections not unworthy of an apostle. "Thus," says he, "I have been frequently exposed, and sometimes have lain out the whole night; but hitherto, God has preserved me. Such fatigues and hardships serve to wean me from the earth, and, I trust, will make heaven the sweeter. Formerly, when I have been exposed to cold and rain, I was ready to please myself with the hope of a comfortable lodging, a warm fire, and other external accommodations; but now, through

(l) Brainerd's Life, p. 149, 558.

Divine grace, such things as these have less place in my heart, and my eye is directed more to God for comfort. In this world, I lay my account with tribulation; it does not now appear strange to me. On meeting with difficulties, I do not flatter myself it will afterwards be better, but rather think how much worse it might be with me; how much greater trials many of God's children have endured; how much greater, perhaps, are yet in reserve for myself. Blessed be God, he makes the prospect of my journey's end a comfort to me under my sharpest trials; and instead of allowing the thought of my dissolution to excite terror or melancholy, he often accompanies it with exquisite joy." *(m)*

Agreeably to his promise, Mr. Brainerd, in May 1745, renewed his visit to the Indians on the river Susquehannah, accompanied by his interpreter from the Forks of Delaware. In travelling through the wilderness, he suffered, as usual, excessive fatigues and hardships. After lodging one night in the woods, he was overtaken by a terrible storm, in which he was in danger of losing his life. Having no kind of shelter, and not being able to kindle a fire on account of the rain, he resolved to prosecute his journey in the hope of finding some place of refuge, without which, he thought it was impossible he should survive the night. But, unfortunately, the horses, both of Mr. Brainerd and of his interpreter, having eaten poison for want of other food, now became so sick, that our travellers could neither ride nor lead them, but were obliged to drive them on before, and to walk themselves on foot. Providentially, however, about the dusk of the evening, they came to a bark hut, where they took up lodgings for the night. Having at length reached the Susquehannah, Mr. Brainerd travelled about a hundred miles along that river, visited many of the Indian towns, and preached the gospel to some of different tribes through the medium of interpreters. He was sometimes greatly disheart-

(m) Brainerd's Life, p. 156.

ened by the opposition which they made to Christianity; and sometimes he was much encouraged by the disposition which some of them manifested to hear the word. He spent about a fortnight among the Indians in this part of the country, and suffered considerable hardships, frequently sleeping on the cold ground, and sometimes in the open air. He was at last taken very ill as he was riding in the wilderness, being attacked with an ague, attended with extreme pains in his head and bowels, and with a great evacuation of blood, so that he thought he should have perished by the way. Having reached, however, the hut of an Indian trader, he obtained liberty to stop there; and though without medicine or food proper for one in his situation, he so far recovered, that after about a weeks illness, he was able to resume his journey homeward. *(n)*

After his return from the Susquehannah, Mr. Brainerd was ready to sink into the depths of despair. As his body was extremely feeble, in consequence of his late illness, so his hopes of the conversion of the Indians were scarcely ever so low. But as the night is darkest before the dawn, so it was from the midst of this thick cloud that the prospect began to brighten around him. Having heard of a number of Indians at a place called Crosweeksung, in New-Jersey, about eighty miles from the Forks of Delaware, he proceeded to visit them about the middle of June; but, on his arrival, he found them scattered in small settlements, six, ten, twenty, and even thirty miles distant from each other, and not more than two or three families residing in the same place. He preached, however, to the few he found, consisting only of four women and several children. So inconsiderable was the congregation, and so inauspicious seemed the spot which was soon to be the scene of a most remarkable work of divine grace. After hearing Mr. Brainerd, these poor people set off and travelled ten or fifteen miles to give notice to their friends that a minister had arrived among them, by which means

(n) Brainerd's Life, p. 177.

their little company was in a few days increased to between forty and fifty, including both old and young. No objection, no cavilling, no murmur of opposition was heard among them. though in time past they had manifested as strong a dislike to the gospel as any Indians whatever, and even lately several of them had been much enraged at his interpreter for telling them something about Christianity. Now, however, they were extremely anxious to obtain instruction; they asked Mr. Brainerd to preach to them twice a day, that so they might learn as much as possible during his stay; and they appeared to listen to his discourses with the utmost seriousness and attention. This favourable disposition in these Indians he attributed to the exertions of one or two of their own people, who having heard him some time before, at the Forks of Delaware, had on their return endeavoured to shew their friends the evil of idolatry, and of other practices common among them: a circumstance which may afford the Christian missionary some consolation under the hardest of all his trials, the want of success; for though no success should, for a season, crown his labours in his own neighbourhood, yet, perhaps, some who have heard the gospel from his lips, may, in the meanwhile, be instrumental in preparing the way for its introduction even among distant tribes. *(o)*

After spending about a fortnight at Crosweeksung, Mr. Brainerd returned to the Forks of Delaware, and from this period these two places were alternately the principal scene of his labours. Soon after his arrival, he had the pleasure of baptizing his interpreter, together with his wife, the first of the Indians whom he received into the bosom of the church. As the history of this man is somewhat remarkable, it may not be uninteresting to give a short account of him in this place. When Mr. Brainerd first employed him as his interpreter, he was in some respects well qualified for the office, as he was not only acquainted with the Indian and the English languages, but had a strong desire that his country-

(o) Brainerd's Life, p. 180, 363, 405.

men should abandon their Heathenish notions and practices, and should adopt the manners and customs of the White people, particularly as to their mode of living. But he had little or no impression of religion on his mind, and on this account was very unfit for his work, being incapable of communicating to others many truths of the first importance, for want of an experimental, as well as a more doctrinal knowledge of the gospel. Having fallen, however, into a weak and languishing state of body, he became deeply concerned about the salvation of his soul: His spiritual distress was so urgent, that sleep departed from him ; he had little rest night or day, for he now saw plainly that he was a sinful and miserable creature. He knew, he said, he was not guilty of some crimes with which many others were chargeable ; he had not been used to steal, to quarrel, or to murder ; but still, he said, "he had never done one good thing ;" meaning, that he had never done any thing from a right principle, or with a right end, though he had done many things that were good in themselves. He now thought he must certainly go to hell, that there was no hope for him ; because, though God should let him alone ever so long, though he should try him ever so much, still he would do nothing but sin. Under this view of things, he was more calm and composed than before, when striving to help himself by his own endeavours, which he now saw would be for ever vain. After some time, he obtained peace of mind and though in this respect his experience was not altogether so satisfactory as might be wished, yet it was attended with so great a change in his character and conduct, as to afford ample ground of hope, that he was become a new man. In his performances as interpreter, there was now a material improvement, a circumstance of peculiar importance. Though it might naturally be supposed, that a discourse, in passing to the audience, through the medium of a second person, would necessarily lose much of its force and meaning, yet now Mr. Brainerd's sermons did not ordinarily lose any thing of their original energy,

unless it was sometimes owing to the want of suitable expressions in the Indian tongue, a defect which his own knowledge of the language could not have supplied. His interpreter addressed the Indians with admirable fervency; he scarce knew when to give over; and sometimes when Mr. Brainerd had concluded his discourse, and was returning home, he would stay behind to repeat and enforce what had been spoken; nor did this appear to arise from spiritual pride, or form an affectation of being a public teacher; but from a spirit of faithfulness, and an honest concern for their souls. As his indifference to religion was formerly a a source of great distress to Mr. Brainerd, so now his zeal for the salvation of his countrymen was no small comfort to him. *(p)*

In the beginning of August, Mr. Brainerd paid a second visit to the Indians at Crosweeksung; and, on his arrival, was happy to find them not only still favourably disposed toward Christianity, but a number of them under serious concern for their souls, their convictions of their sinfulness and misery having been much promoted by the labours of the Rev. William Tennant, to whom he had advised them to make application. Scarcely had he returned among them, when these impressions increased and spread in a surprising manner. In two or three days, the enquiry was general among them, "What they should do to be saved?" Such was their sensibility of heart, that a few words concerning their souls would make the tears flow in streams down their cheeks; in their public assemblies, a dry eye was often scarcely to be seen; it was astonishing how they were melted with the love of the Redeemer, and with the invitations of the gospel, when not a word of terror was spoken to them. *(q)*

(p) Brainerd's Life, p. 367, 407, 510.

(q) Ibid. p. 373.

One day after Mr. Brainerd had preached on the parable of the Great Supper, * when he was speaking with such individuals as were under concern about their souls, the Spirit of God appeared to descend on the whole assembly, and with astonishing energy overpowered all opposition, like a mighty torrent which, with irresistible force, sweeps before it whatever comes in its way. It seemed as if he now beheld a second Pentecost. Almost the whole congregation, the old, the middle-aged, and the young, were overwhelmed with its influence. Even the most stubborn hearts were made to bow. One of the principal Indians, who previously had felt secure in the armour of self-righteousness, because he possessed more knowledge than most of his countrymen, and who only the day before had asserted, with the utmost assurance, that he had been a Christian for upwards of ten years, was now impressed with deep concern on account of his sinful miserable state; his self-confidence vanished like a vision of the night; his tears flowed in streams down his cheeks. There was also a young woman who was so thoughtless and ignorant, that she seemed scarcely to know she had a soul, but who having heard of something strange among the Indians, came to see what was the matter. Having called at Mr. Brainerd's lodgings by the way, he informed her of his design to preach immediately, at which she laughed and seemed to mock. She came, however, to hear him, and before he had concluded his discourse, not only felt she had a soul, but was so impressed with her sinfulness and misery, that she seemed like one pierced through with a dart; she could neither walk, nor sit, nor stand, without being supported. When public worship was over, she lay prostrate on the ground, praying in the most fervent manner, and neither took notice of others, nor returned them any answer when they spoke to her.

* Luke xiv. 16—23.

The burden of her cry was, "Have mercy on me, O God, and help me to give thee my heart." In this manner she continued most importunate in supplication for several hours together; and thus she who came to mock returned to pray. (r)

The whole assembly, indeed, appeared as it were transfixed to the heart with concern for their souls Almost all of them were crying for mercy, either within or without the house. So overwhelmed were they with a sense of sin, so absorbed in serious reflection, that none appeared to observe another; but each prayed as freely, and, probably, in his own apprehension, as secretly, as if he had been in the midst of a desert, far removed from every human eye. Such as had been awakened for some time, it was observed, complained chiefly of the corruption of their heart; those who were newly impressed, of the wickedness of their life. It is also worthy of notice, that they who had lately obtained relief, appeared, on this occasion, calm and composed, rejoicing in Christ Jesus as their God and Saviour. Some of them took their weeping friends by the hand, telling them of the love of Christ, and of the comfort which is enjoyed in him; and on this ground invited them to come and give him their hearts. The whole scene, in short, presented a striking and interesting illustration of that prediction of the prophet Zechariah, "I will pour upon the house of David, and upon the inhabitants of Jerusalem, the spirit of grace and of supplications; and they shall look on me whom they have pierced, and they shall mourn for him as one mourneth for his only son, and shall be in bitterness for him as one that is in bitterness for his first born: And the land shall mourn, every family apart, and their wives apart." (s)

(r) Brainerd's Life, p. 376, 378.
(s) Ibid. p. 377.

This was not merely a transcient scene, but lasted, in a greater or less degree for a considerable time. Every sermon seemed now productive of good; some were newly awakened, some further impressed, or some comforted. No sooner did any come from remote places, than they were seized with concern about their souls. It was common for strangers, before they had remained a day, to be convinced of their sinfulness and misery, and to enquire with the utmost solicitude, "What they shall do to be saved?" Others, who previously had experienced only some slight emotion of their passions, were now wounded to the heart; their tears and sighs and groans, bore witness to the inward anguish of their souls. On the other hand, such as had obtained comfort, appeared humble, serious, and devout, endowed with remarkable tenderness of conscience, and concerned to regulate their life by the laws of Christ. Observing a woman one morning very sorrowful, Mr. Brainerd enquired into the cause of her grief, and found she had been angry with her child the evening before, and was now afraid, lest her anger had been immoderate and sinful. This had so vexed her, that she awoke before day-light, and continued weeping for several hours. A man, who some time before had put away his wife, and taken another woman, a practice common among the Indians, was now much concerned about this circumstance in particular, being fully convinced of the evil of his conduct, and anxious to know what was his duty. Enquiry being made into the cause of his leaving his wife, it appeared she had given him no just occasion to desert her; and as it was found that she was willing to forgive his past misconduct, and to live peaceably with him in future, he was told it was his indispensible duty to renounce the woman he had last taken, and to receive back the other, who was properly his wife, and to cleave to her alone as long as they lived. With this advice he readily complied, a striking proof of the power of religion on his mind; for

it is likely, a few weeks before, the whole world would not have induced him to conform to the law of Christianity on the subject of marriage. Mr. Brainerd was apprehensive, lest this decision should prejudice some of the Indians against the gospel, when they saw the strictness it enjoined, and the sacrifices it demanded; but so far was it from having any bad effect in this respect, that most of them acknowledged the wisdom and excellence of the regulation. *(t)*

As there was now a considerable number of the Indians, who gave satisfactory evidence of the sincerity of their conversion, Mr. Brainerd, after explaining to them the nature of baptism, administered that ordinance to twenty-five of them in one day, namely, fifteen adults, and ten children, in the presence of a large congregation of White people. After the crowd of spectators had retired, he called the baptized together, and discoursed to them in particular. He warned them of the evil and danger of indifference in religion, after making so public a profession of it; he reminded them of the solemn obligations under which they had come, to live devoted to God; he gave them some directions respecting their conduct in life; encouraged them to watchfulness, stedfastness, and devotion; and set before them the comfort on earth, and the glory in heaven, which await the faithful followers of the Lamb. To all of them, this was a most interesting and delightful season. The baptized Indians appeared to rejoice in the solemn dedication they had that day made of themselves to the service of God; their hearts were engaged, and cheerful in duty; love reigned among them, and displayed itself in the most simple unaffected manner. Several of the other Indians, when they saw and heard these things, were much affected, weeping most bitterly, and longing to be partakers of that comfort and joy

(t) Brainerd's Life, p. 378, 405.

they discerned in the countenance, as well as in the language of their countrymen. *(u)*

On the following day, Mr. Brainerd, after discoursing some time to the Indians, addressed himself to those in particular, who hoped they were partakers of Divine grace, representing to them the happiness which Christ confers on his people here on earth, and the glory he prepares for them in heaven. Scarcely had he begun to speak in this strain, when the Christian Indians appeared to dissolve in love to the Redeemer, mingled with desire after the full enjoyment of Him, and of a state of perfect holiness of heart and life. They wept affectionately, yet joyfully. Their tears, and sobs, and sighs, were accompanied with inward peace and comfort; a circumstance which seemed to manifest, that the whole was the effect of a spirit of adoption, not of that spirit of bondage, under which many of them had so lately groaned. The sacred influence spread over the whole assembly which now consisted of nearly one hundred Indians, including both old and young, almost all of whom were either animated with joy in Christ Jesus, or impressed with concern for an interest in Him. *(v)*

Having now been nearly a month in this quarter, Mr. Brainerd proposed undertaking a new journey to the Susquehannah, as this was the best season of the year for finding the Indians at home. After informing his congregation of his design to leave them for the present, and to go to their countrymen far remote, to preach among them also the glad tidings of salvation, he asked them, Whether they would not employ the remainder of the day in prayer for him, that God would crown the attempt with his blessing, and render it effectual for the conversion of their brethren? To this proposal they cheerfully assented; and they soon after began the exercise, and continued praying the whole night till near the dawn of day, never apprehending it was past their usual bed-time, until having gone out and viewed the heavens, they

(u) Brainerd's Life, p. 386. *(v)* Ibid, p. 387.

beheld the morning star a considerable height in the horizon; so earnest and unwearied were they in their devotions. *(w)*

In his way to the Susquehannah, Mr. Brainerd visited the Forks of Delaware, where he now found the Indians much more impressed with religion, and more deeply affected in hearing the word than before. Several of them, indeed, had been at Crosweeksung, and had there beheld, and, it was hoped, felt the power of Divine truth. Observing a man, who had obtained comfort, and who appeared truly religious dissolved in tears, Mr. Brainerd asked him, Why he now wept? To this he replied, "When he thought how Christ was slain like a lamb, and how he shed his blood for sinners, he could not help weeping." Then he burst into tears, and cried again. Mr. Brainerd afterwards asked his wife, who had also obtained comfort, Why she wept? "Because," answered she, "the Indians here will not come to Christ, as well as those at Crosweeksung." He then enquired, Whether she had of late enjoyed the presence of Christ in prayer, as in time past? "Yes," she replied, "he had been near her: sometimes when she was at prayer alone, her heart so loved to pray, she could not bear to leave the place." In this part of the country, however, there were several Indians who had always refused to hear Mr. Brainerd preach, and even manifested an inveterate hatred to those who attended his ministry. These now became more violent in their opposition than ever, scoffing at religion, and asking the converts the most insulting questions, as "How often they had cried? Whether they had not cried enough to do the turn?" Thus the Christian Indians began soon to have "trial of cruel mockings," the uniform reward of serious vital religion in every age, and in every quarter of the globe. *(x)*

Leaving the Forks of Delaware, Mr Brainerd proceeded on his journey to the Susquehannah, directing his course towards an Indian town named Shomokin, about a hun-

(w) Brainerd's Life, p. 388. *(x)* Ibid. p. 389.

dred and twenty miles to the westward.* Here, there were upwards of fifty houses, and, it was said, about three hundred inhabitants, though he never saw much above the half of that number. They were reckoned a most worthless, drunken, mischievous race, but yet they received him kindly, listened to the gospel with great attention, and expressed a desire for further instruction; but most of them, after a few days, set off into the wilderness on a hunting expedition. Leaving this place, therefore, Mr. Brainerd travelled down the river to Juneauta, an Indian town through which he had passed in his last journey. At that time the inhabitants appeared extremely friendly, and less under the influence of prejudice against Christianity than most of their countrymen, but now they seemed quite rooted in their Pagan notions, and strongly averse to the gospel. They were at this time busy making preparations for celebrating a great idolatrous feast on the following day. Having provided no fewer then ten fat deer for this purpose, about a hundred of them assembled in the evening, and danced round a large fire which they had previously kindled. During the dance, they threw the fat

* It is not unworthy of notice, though it is an unpleasing circumstance, that, in this journey, Mr. Brainerd laboured under considerable depression of mind, occasioned at first by his hearing that the Moravians had gone before him to the Susquehannah Indians. Such is the unhappy influence of the misrepresentations and aspersions, which are often thrown on the most devoted servants of God. No denomination of Christians have made such distinguished and persevering exertions, in promoting that great object which lay nearest the heart of this excellent man, the conversion of the Heathen; yet, misguided by common report, instead of rejoicing, he was grieved at their labours. In speaking of him, it is proper to add, they uniformly employ terms of the highest respect. *Brainerd's Life, p.* 189; *Crantz's History of Greenland*, vol. ii.; *Spangenberg's Account of the manner in which the United Brethren carry on their Missions among the Heathen.*

into the fire, which sometimes raised the flame to a prodigious height, while at the same time, they yelled and shouted in a most hideous manner. After continuing this exercise nearly the whole night, they devoured the flesh of the animals, and then retired to their huts. Such a scene was extremely distressing to poor Mr. Brainerd; it pierced him like a dagger to the heart. After walking about till he was almost overwhelmed with grief and fatigue, he crept into a little crib made for corn, laid himself down on the poles, and slept in this situation. As soon, however, as the Indians rose next morning, he attempted to collect them together, with the view of instructing them in the truths of religion; but he soon found they had other business to pursue. About noon, they had assembled all their powaws, in order to discover, by their charms and incantations, the cause of the sickness which at that time raged among them, many of them being attacked with flux, attended with fever. In this exercise, they made all the wild, ridiculous, frantic motions it is almost possible to imagine: sometimes singing; sometimes howling; sometimes extending their arms to the utmost, spreading their fingers, and seeming to push with them; sometimes stroking their faces with their hands, then spurting water as fine as mist; sometimes sitting flat on the earth, then bowing their faces to the ground, wringing their sides as if in the utmost anguish, distorting their faces, turning up their eyes, puffing, grunting, &c. Some of them appeared much more earnest in these exercises than others; they chaunted, peeped, and muttered with such ardour and such energy, as if they were determined to awaken the infernal powers, and extort the secret from them. After continuing these hideous charms and incantations, with some intervals, for upwards of three hours, they were completely exhausted, and broke up the meeting without appearing to have received any answer from the regions below. *(y)*

(y) Brainerd's Life, p. 383.

In this quarter of the country, Mr. Brainerd met with a zealous reformer of the Indian religion, or rather a restorer of what he considered their ancient mode of worship. But of all the spectacles he ever saw, none appeared so horrible, none excited such images of terror in his mind, none corresponded so nearly with the common idea of the infernal powers. He presented himself to Mr. Brainerd in his pontifical garb, consisting of a coat of bearskins hanging down to his toes, a bearskin cap on his head, and a pair of bearskin stockings on his feet; a large wooden face, the one half painted black, the other of a tawny colour like the Indians, with an extravagant mouth, cut extremely awry. In his hand was the instrument he employed for music in his idolatrous worship: it was a tortoise shell with some corn in it, fixed on a piece of wood for a handle. As he came forward he beat to time with his rattle, and danced with all his might; but allowed no part of his body, not even his fingers, to be seen. His appearance and gestures were so unlike all that was human, that when he came near, Mr. Brainerd could not help shrinking back with horror, though it was then noonday, and he knew perfectly who it was. It appears he had a house consecrated to religion; in it were several images, and the ground was beaten almost as hard as a rock by his frequent and violent dancing. Mr. Brainerd conversed with him about the principles of Christianity: some of them he liked; others he disliked. "God," he said, "had taught him his religion; and he never would relinquish it: He was anxious, however, to find some who would cordially join with him in it, for the Indians were grown very careless and degenerate: He had thoughts, therefore, of leaving all his friends, travelling abroad, and searching for some who would unite with him; for he believed God had some good people in the world, who viewed things in the same light as himself. He had not always felt as he now did: formerly he was like other Indians; but about four or five years ago, he became greatly distressed in his mind; he could no longer dwell among his countrymen, but retired into the woods, and lived

there alone for several months. At length God comforted his heart, and shewed him what he should do: since that period, he had known God, and endeavoured to serve him; he also loved all men, whoever they were, in a manner he never did before." It further appeared from the accounts of the Indians themselves, that he was a great enemy to their drinking spiritous liquors, and when he could not dissuade them from that ruinious practice, he used to leave them and go, crying into the woods Some of his sentiments, indeed, were rational and just; and Mr. Brainerd even informs us, there was something in his temper and disposition more like true religion than any thing he ever beheld in a Pagan. He appeared to be sincere, honest, and conscientious in his own way; and on this account, was derided by his countrymen as a precise zealot, who made a needless noise about religion. *(z)*

Having again failed in his attempts to introduce Christianity on the Susquehannah, Mr. Brainerd returned to Crosweeksung; and, on his arrival, was much struck with the vast difference between the Indians in that quarter, and his congregation at this place. To dwell with the one was like being banished from God and all his saints; to live with the other, like being received into his presence and his family. Yet only a few months before, these were as thoughtless, as barbarous, as averse to Christianity, as those on the Susquehannah; but now, instead of engaging in idolatrous feasts and drunken revels, they worshipped the God of heaven, received his word, and lived devoted to his glory. Such is the power of Divine grace! Such the transforming influence of the gospel! *(a)*

On resuming his labours at Crosweeksung, Mr. Brainerd beheld the same powerful and happy effects attend his ministry as before. He was often wonderfully assisted in his public discourses, being enabled to accommodate his sentiments and his expressions to the understanding of the Indians, in

(z) Brainerd's Life, p. 396. *(a)* Ibid. p. 399.

such a manner, as he never could have done by the most careful study; yet he spoke with as much ease and freedom, as if he had been addressing an ordinary congregation, who had been instructed in the principles of Christianity from their early years. A dry eye was often scarcely to be seen in their assemblies; yet there was no disturbance of the public worship: A deep impression was made on their hearts; but there was no boisterous agitation of their passions. All was powerful and efficacious; yet calm and peaceful. One day, after a sermon on the Transfiguration of Christ, Mr. Brainerd asked a woman whom he observed weeping most affectionately: What she now wanted? To this she replied: "Oh! to be with Christ: She knew not how to stay." On another occasion, when a number of them were assembled in Mr Brainerd's house, a woman burst forth in prayer and praises to God before them all, with many tears, crying sometimes in English, and sometimes in Indian: "O blessed Lord, do come, do come! O do take me away; do let me die and go to Jesus Christ. I am afraid, if I live I shall sin again! O do let me die now; do come! I cannot stay, I cannot stay! O how can I live in this world! do take my soul away from this sinful place! O let me never sin any more! O what shall I do, what shall I do!" In this ecstacy she continued for some time, incessantly uttering these and similar expressions, and employing as her grand argument with God to enforce her prayer, that if she lived, she would sin against him. When she had recovered a little, Mr. Brainerd asked her, If Christ was now sweet to her soul? Turning to him, she replied, with tears in her eyes, and with the deepest tokens of humility: "I have often heard you speak of the goodness and the sweetness of Christ; that he was better than all the world. But, O, I knew nothing of what you meant; I never believed you; I never believed you. But now I know it is true." Mr. Brainerd then asked her, If she saw in Christ enough for the greatest of sinners? "O, enough, enough?" she replied, "for all the sinners in the world, if they would but come." On hearing something of the glory of heaven,

particularly that there was no sin there, she again fell into the same kind of ecstacy, and employed similar expressions as before: "O dear Lord, do let me go! O what shall I do! what shall I do! I want to go to Christ! I cannot live O do let me die." In this pleasing frame she continued more than two hours, before she was well able to go home. *(b)*

One day after a sermon on the New Birth, by which a general and deep impression was made on the minds of the Indians, many of them followed Mr. Brainerd to his lodgings, and begged to be further instructed in the way of salvation; but he had not spoken long, when they were so affected with what he said, that they filled the house with their cries and groans. Almost all whom he apprehended in an unconverted state, were seized with concern for their souls; it seemed as if none, whether old or young, would now be left. No pen can describe the interesting scene. Numbers might be seen rejoicing that God had not taken his Holy Spirit from them, and delighted to behold so many of their countrymen "striving to enter in at the strait gate." Others, both men and women, both young and old, might be seen dissolved in tears, some of them so overwhelmed with anguish, that they seemed like malefactors on the way to execution. The whole scene exhibited a striking emblem of the day of judgment; of heaven and hell; of infinite joy and of inexpressible misery. *(c)*

With the view of improving the Indians in Christian knowledge, Mr. Brainerd now began a catechetical exercise among them. Sometimes he examined them on some important point of divinity; sometimes on the discourses he had delivered to them; but most commonly on the Assembly's Shorter Catechism. In these catechetical exercises, he had much satisfaction. It was truly surprising

(b) Brainerd's Life, p. 399, 417, 443.
(c) Ibid. p. 427.

to see how readily and scripturally, the Indians answered the questions proposed to them: their knowledge of the principles of religion was found on trial far more extensive and correct, than could reasonably have been expected. When Mr. Brainerd began this exercise, he was apprehensive it would necessarily prove of so doctrinal a nature, as merely to enlighten the understanding, without impressing the conscience or affecting the heart. But in this he was mistaken, for it was remarkably blessed for promoting their progress in experimental as well as in theoretical knowledge. The serious attention, the tender affection, the many tears which often appeared at these catechetical meetings, would have been deemed very extraordinary, had not these things been now so common that they ceased to excite surprise. As a specimen of Mr. Brainerd's simple, yet excellent mode of catechising, as well as of the affectionate and suitable answers of the Indians, we shall subjoin an account of the exercise. "On the benefits which believers receive from Christ at the resurrection."

Q. You have already heard, said Mr. Brainerd, what good things Christ gives his people while they live and when they come to die; now, will he raise their bodies, and the bodies of others, to life again at the last day? *A.* Yes, they shall be raised.

Q. Will they then have the same bodies they now have? *A.* Yes.

Q. Will their bodies then be weak: will they feel cold, hunger, thirst, and weariness as they now do? *A.* No, none of these things.

Q. Will their bodies die any more after they are raised to life? *A.* No.

Q. Will their souls and bodies be joined together again? *A.* Yes.

Q. Will God's people be more happy then, than they were while their bodies were asleep? *A.* Yes.

Q. Will Christ then own them to be his people before all the world? *A.* Yes.

Q. But God's people find so much sin in themselves, that they are often ashamed of themselves, and will not Christ be ashamed to own such for his friends at that day? *A.* No, he will never be ashamed of them.

Q. Will Christ then show all the world, that he has put away these people's sins, and that he looks upon them, as if they had never sinned at all? *A.* Yes.

Q. Will he look upon them as if they had never sinned, for the sake of any good things they have done themselves, or for the sake of his righteousness, accounted to them as if it were theirs? *A.* For the sake of his righteousness accounted to them, not for their own goodness.

Q. Will God's children be then as happy as they can desire to be? *A.* Yes.

Q. The children of God, while in this world, can but now and then draw near to him, and they are ready to think they can never have enough of God and Christ; but will they have enough then, as much as they can desire? *A.* O yes, enough, enough.

Q. Will the children of God love him then as much as they desire; will they find nothing to hinder their love from going out to him? *A.* Nothing all; they shall love him as much as they desire.

Q. Will they never be weary of God and Christ, and the pleasures of heaven, as we are weary of our friends and enjoyments here, after we have been pleased with them a while? *A.* No, never.

Q. Could God's people be happy, if they knew God loved them, and yet felt at the same time that they could not love and honour him? *A.* No, no.

Q. Will this then make God's people perfectly happy, to love God above all, to honour him continually, and to feel his love to them? *A.* Yes.

Q. And will this happiness last for-ever? *A.* Yes, for-ever, for-ever.

All these questions were answered by the Indians without hesitation, and without mistaking in a single instance. *(d)*

In February 1746, a school was opened for instructing the Indians in reading and writing the English language, &c. under the care of an excellent schoolmaster, whom Mr. Brained had procured for this purpose. About thirty children immediately entered it, and made such surprising progress, that the teacher remarked, he never had English scholars, who, taking them in general, learned so rapidly. Of the whole of this number, there were not more than two, though some of them were very young, but what made themselves masters of all the letters of the alphabet within three days after the opening of the school; some in that short time even made some progress in spelling, and in less than five months were able to read the New Testament. Besides the children, there were about fifteen or twenty of the old people, who attended the school at night, when the length of the evenings would admit of it. *(e)*

Besides attending to the religious and moral improvement of the Indians, Mr. Brainerd was anxious to obtain for them a fixed settlement, and to form them to habits of industry. Having in time past run themselves in debt by their excessive drinking, and several of them having been arrested by the White people on this account, he was apprehensive they might be deprived of a great part of their lands; and being convinced that they could not remain in that quarter of the country, nor maintain the order of a Christian congregation, should their ground be taken from them, he prevailed on the gentleman who had the superintendance of the mission, to expend a considerable sum of money in discharging the debts of the Indians, and thus averted the danger which threatened them. Having by this means secured their lands to them, he was anxious to excite and to cultivate in them a spirit of industry. By his advice they

(d) Brainerd's Life, p. 421, 427, 432, 448, 452, 495.
(e) Ibid. p. 436, 483.

fixed on a spot at Cranberry, about fifteen miles from the place of their present residence, and proceeded to form a regular settlement upon it. Here they began to clear and to plant their lands; and in little more than a twelvemonth, they had upwards of forty acres of English grain in the ground, and nearly as much of Indian corn. In general, indeed, they followed their secular occupations as well as could reasonably be expected, considering that during the whole of their life, they had been habituated to idleness and sloth. Much of the burden, however, of their temporal affairs devolved on Mr. Brainerd, as they were utterly incapable of arranging and managing them without the constant care and advice of others. *(f)*

Apprehending that a number of the Indians were now qualified to become partakers of the Lord's Supper, Mr. Brainerd, after instructing them more particularly in the nature and design of that holy ordinance, resolved to administer it to them. Having observed a day of fasting and prayer, for the purpose of humbling themselves on account of the partial withdrawment of that spiritual influence which had of late been so prevalent among them, and on account of the appearance of carelessness, vanity, and vice, among some who not long before seemed impressed with a sense of their sinfulness and misery, as well as for imploring the presence and blessing of God in the sacred service which they had in prospect, twenty-three of the Indians sat down together at the Lord's Table on the following Sabbath; and there were several absent, who would otherwise have been admitted along with them. The exercise was attended with great solemnity, with singular devotion, and with a sweet, yet powerful melting of their affections. During the administration of the sacrament, especially in the distribution of the bread, they were affected in so lively a manner, that it seemed as if "Christ Jesus had been set forth crucified

(f) Brainerd's Life, p. 434, 450, 452, 461, 482.—Account of the Society in Scotland for propagating Christian Knowledge, prefixed to a Sermon by Robert Walker.

among them." Mr. Brainerd afterwards walked from house to house to converse with the communicants; and he was happy to find that almost all of them had been refreshed "as with new wine." Never did he witness such an appearance of Christian love among any people: It was so remarkable, that one might justly have exclaimed, "Behold how these Indians love one another!" Even among the primitive Christians, there could scarcely be greater tokens of mutual affection, than what appeared among these poor people. In the evening, he preached on the design of Christ's death, "that he might redeem his people from all iniquity." On this occasion, many of the Indians were much refreshed. So delightful was their frame of mind; so full were they of love, and peace, and joy; so ardently did they long to be delivered from the power of sin, that some of them declared, they had never felt the like before. It seemed almost grievous to them to conclude the exercise; and even when it was closed, they appeared loath to leave a place which had been so endeared to them by the sacred services of that day. *(g)*

A few days after the administration of the Lord's Supper, Mr. Brainerd baptized a man, who had been a most notorious sinner, a drunkard, a murderer, a conjurer; but who now appeared to be an illustrious trophy of the power and the grace of God. He lived near the Forks of Delaware, and occasionally attended on Mr. Brainerd's ministry, but, like many others of the Indians, was nowise reformed by the means of instruction which he enjoyed About this very time, he murdered a promising young Indian, and he still followed his old trade of conjuration, being held in high reputation among his countrymen. Hence, when Mr. Brainerd told them of the miracles of Christ, and represented these as a proof of his divine mission, and of the truth of his religion, they immediately mentioned the wonders of the same kind which this man had wrought by his

(g) Brainerd's Life, p. 455.

magical charms. As he was, in this manner, a powerful obstruction to the progress of the gospel among the other Indians, Mr. Brainerd often thought it would be a great mercy if God would remove him out of the world, for he had little or no hope that such a wretch would ever himself be converted; but He, "whose thoughts are not as our thoughts," was pleased to take a more gracious and a more effectual method with him. *(h)*

Having been impressed, by witnessing the baptism of Mr. Brainerd's interpreter, he followed him to Crosweeksung shortly after, and continued there several weeks, during the season of the most remarkable and powerful awakening of the Indians. He was now brought under deep concern for his soul, and then, "upon his feeling the word of God in his heart," as he expressed it, his spirit of conjuration entirely left him; from that time, he had no more power of that description than any other man; and afterwards he declared, that he no longer even knew how he used to charm and conjure, and that he could not do any thing of that kind though he were ever so desirous of it. These circumstances we simply state; how they are to be accounted for we do not pretend to explain. *(i)*

His convictions of his sinfulness and misery became by degrees more deep, and the anguish of his mind was so increased, that he knew not what to do, nor whither to turn. One day he was in such extreme distress, that he trembled for several hours together, and apprehended he was ready to drop into hell, without any power to escape or help himself. Soon after this, indeed, he became quite calm and tranquil, his trembling ceased, his burden vanished; but yet, in his own apprehension, he had little or no hope of mercy. Observing him so remarkably composed, Mr. Brainerd asked him, "How he did?" To this he replied, "It is done, it is done, it is all done now." On being asked what he meant, he answered, "I can do no more to save myself, it is all done

(h) Brainerd's Life, p. 462. *(i)* Ibid p. 463, 376.

for ever, I can do no more." "But," said Mr. Brainerd, "can you not do a little more, rather than go to hell?" "My heart," he replied, "is dead; I can never help myself." Being asked, if he thought it right that God should send him to hell, he answered, "Yes, it is right. The devil has been in me ever since I was born. My heart has no goodness in it now, but is as bad as ever." Mr. Brainerd says, he scarcely ever saw a person more completely weaned from dependence on his own endeavours for salvation, or lying more humbly at the foot of sovereign mercy, than this poor Indian conjurer. *(k)*

He continued in this frame of mind for several days, pronouncing sentence of condemnation upon himself, and acknowledging the justice of his punishment; yet it was evident he had a secret hope of mercy, though probably it was imperceptible to himself. During this time, he repeatedly inquired of Mr. Brainerd when he would preach again, and seemed desirous of hearing the gospel every day. On being asked why he wished to hear the word, seeing, according to his own account, "his heart was dead, and all was done for ever?" He replied, "Notwithstanding that, I love to hear about Christ." "But," said Mr. Brainerd, "what good can that do you, if you must go to hell at last?" "I would have others," replied he, "come to Christ, if I must go to hell myself." It is not unworthy of notice, that, at this very time, he appeared to have a great love to the people of God, and nothing affected him so much as the thought of being for ever separated from them; this seemed a very dreadful ingredient in the hell to which he considered himself as doomed. He was likewise exceedingly diligent in the use of the external means of grace, though he had at the same time the clearest views of their insufficiency to afford him help. "All he did," he would frequently say, "signified nothing;" yet never was he more constant in attending

(k) Brainerd's Life, p. 464, 436.

to the ordinances of religion, not excepting even secret and family prayer. *(l)*

After continuing in this state of mind upwards of a week, he obtained, one day as Mr. Brainerd was preaching, such a lively and delightful view of the excellency of Christ, and of the way of salvation through him, that he burst into tears, and was dissolved in admiration, and gratitude, and praise. From that time he appeared a humble, devout, affectionate Christian; serious and exemplary in his behaviour; often complaining of his barrenness, and his want of spiritual life; yet frequently favoured with the quickening and refreshing influences of the Holy Spirit. In short, he appeared, in all respects, to possess the character and disposition of one who was "created anew in Christ Jesus unto good works." *(m)*

Incessant as Mr. Brainerd was in his labours, numerous as were the difficulties he had to encounter, dreadful as were the hardships he had often to endure, yet so far was he from being weary of the life of a missionary, that now when he had the prospect of settling as the pastor of the Indian flock he had collected in the wilderness, he looked forward to it with apprehension, and considered it as a kind of trial. So ardent, so unabated with his zeal for the conversion of the Heathen, that it was still his desire to spend his life in preaching the gospel from place to place, and in gathering souls afar off to the Redeemer. We envy not the feelings of that man, however distinguished he may be for birth, or talents, or learning, who can read the exercises of his mind on this occasion, without admiration, mingled with self-abasement; they display a disinterestedness, a zeal, a deadness to the world, which perhaps have scarcely a parallel in modern ages. "Having apprehended for several days, that it was the design of Providence I should settle among my people, I had in my own mind begun to make provision for it, and to contrive means for furthering it. My heart was somewhat pleased with the prospect, hoping I might then be

(l) Brainerd's Life, p. 465. *(m)* Ibid. p. 466.

in more comfortable circumstances than before; yet I was never fully determined, never quite satisfied with the thought of being confined to one place. Nevertheless, I seemed to have some freedom in that respect, because the congregation I thought of settling with, was one which God had enabled me to gather from amongst Pagans; for never since I began to preach, could I feel any liberty to "enter into other men's labours," and settle in the ministry where the gospel was preached before; but God having made me instrumental in gathering a church from among the Indians, I was ready to think it might be his design, to grant me a quiet settlement and a stated home of my own. This, considering the late frequent depression as my spirits, the need I had of some agreeable society, and my great desire of enjoying opportunities of useful study, was not altogether disagreeable to me; and though I still wished to go about far and wide, spreading the gospel among the benighted Pagans, yet I never had been so willing to settle in any one place for more than five years past as of late. But now this prospect seemed wholly dashed in pieces, not of necessity but of choice; for it appeared to me, that the dispensations of Providence toward me, had fitted me for a life of solitude and hardship; it seemed to me I had nothing to lose, nothing to do with earth, and consequently nothing to sacrifice by a total renunciation of it; it appeared to me quite right that I should be destitute of house and home, and many comforts of life, which I rejoiced to see others of God's people enjoy. I saw, at the same time, so much of the excellency of Christ's kingdom, and the infinite importance of its extension in the world, that it swallowed up every other consideration, and made me not only willing, but even rejoice, to be a pilgrim or a hermit in the wilderness to my dying moment, if I might by this means promote the interest of the Redeemer. The language of my heart was, 'Here am I, Lord, send me; send me to the ends of the earth; send me to the rough, the savage Pagans of the wilderness; send me from all that is called comfort on earth;

send me even to death itself, if it be but in thy service, and to extend thy kingdom.' At the same time, I had as strong and lively a sense of the value of worldly comforts as ever I had, but only I saw them infinitely overmatched by the worth of Christ's kingdom, and the propagation of his gospel. The quiet settlement, the certain place of abode, the tender friendship I had the prospect of enjoying, appeared as valuable to me as ever before, considered absolutely in themselves, but, comparatively, they seemed as nothing, they vanished like the stars before the rising sun. I was constrained, yea chose to say, 'Farewell, friends and earthly comforts, the dearest of them all, the very dearest, if the Lord calls for it: Adieu, adieu! I'll spend my life to my latest breath in caves and dens of the earth, if the kingdom of Christ may thereby be advanced.' Oh! with what reluctance did I find myself obliged to consume time in sleep! I longed to be a flame of fire, continually glowing in the service of God, and extending the kingdom of Christ to my latest, my dying moment." *(n)*

With Mr. Brainerd, these were not vain empty expressions. Notwithstanding his constitution was now broken, by the trials and hardships he had endured; notwithstanding he now harboured in his breast the seeds of a disease which would certainly soon prove fatal; notwithstanding the small success, and even the little encouragement which had hitherto attended his journies to the Susquehannah, yet he shortly after proceeded on a new visit to the Indians in that quarter, accompanied by several of his congregation, whom he judged best qualified to assist him in his labours. He took the road by Philadelphia, designing to pass through the country inhabited by the White people, and to travel up the river to the Indian settlements; for though this was a very circuitous route, yet he avoided, by this means, the huge mountains, and the hideous wilderness, which in former journies had occasioned him so

(n) Brainerd's Life, p. 211.

much difficulty and fatigue. On arriving at Shomokin, he conversed with the Indians concerning religion, some of whom appeard to listen with attention, and even to be impressed by the gospel. From thence he set off for the great island, a place about fifty miles distant, on the north-western branch of the Susquehannah; and there also he was pleased to see some of the Indians listen to the word with considerable interest and attention. In the course of this journey, however, he suffered not a little from a cough, cold night sweats, and spitting of blood; yet was he often obliged to sleep in the woods. One evening he was so extremely faint, that he was apprehensive that should he lie out in the open air, it would prove fatal to him; but as some of his companions were absent, and the others had not an axe, he had no resource but to climb up a young pine tree, to lop the branches with his knife, and so make some kind of shelter from the dew. Exposed, however, as he was to all the coldness of the night, he perspired so profusely, that his linen was completely drenched with sweat. He was now, indeed, so extremely feeble, that he was scarcely able to ride: sometimes he felt as if he would fall from his horse, and have to lie in the open woods. With this remarkable weakness of body, was combined uncommon flatness of spirits, which as it unfitted him for exertion among the Indians, gave rise to the most humbling reflections upon himself. "I was scarcely," says he, "ever more confounded with a sense of my own unfruitfulness and unfitness for my work. Oh, what a dead, heartless, barren, unprofitable wretch, did I now see myself to be! I knew there were numbers of the people of God, who understood I was then travelling on a design, (or at least a pretence), of doing something for God and his cause, among the poor Indians; and that they were ready to suppose I was fervent in spirit; but, Oh, the heartless frame of mind I felt, filled me with confusion. Alas! methought, if they knew me, as God knows me, they would not think so highly of my resolution and zeal, as perhaps

they now do. I could not but desire they should see how heartless and irresolute I was, that they might be undeceived, and 'not think of me above what they ought to think;' and yet I thought if they saw the utmost of my flatness and unfaithfulness, the weakness of my courage and resolution for God, they would be ready to shut me out of their houses, as unworthy of the company or friendship of Christians." *(o)*

Mr. Brainerd originally intended to have remained a considerable time longer among the Indians on the Susquehannah, but was prevented from executing his design, not only by his own extreme debility, but by the sickness which then prevailed in that part of the country, and the weakly state of his companions. After being absent upwards of a month, he again arrived among his own people, and though now very ill, resumed his labours among them, as far as his exhausted strength would permit, often discoursing to them from his bed. He once more administered the Lord's Supper to his beloved flock, and on this occasion the number of communicants amounted to near forty, besides some serious White people from the neighbourhood. After the service was over, he could scarcely walk home; but was supported by his friends, and laid on bed, where he lay in pain till the evening. But though his body was exhausted, his soul was refreshed by the sacred exercises of the day, and the delightful tokens of grace among his people. *(p)*

His disorder now increased so rapidly, that he was obliged to leave his beloved Indian flock in the beginning of November. On the Sabbath before, he was unable to preach, and even scarcely able to sit up the whole day. It grieved him exceedingly, to see his poor people destitute of the means of grace, especially as they could not read, and so were under greater disadvantages for spending the time profitably. This was a heavier trial to him than all his bodily illness.

(o) Brainerd's Life, p. 226. *(p)* Ibid. p. 232, 235, 240.

Before his departure the following day, he visited them all in their houses, weak as he was, and discoursed with each individual, as he thought was most suitable to their particular circumstances. He scarcely left a family where there were not some in tears, not only on accouut of his being about to leave them, but with the solemn addresses he made to them. After spending most of the day in this manner, he left home and rode about two miles, happy that he had been so much assisted in taking farewell of his people. *(q)*

After leaving his little flock, Mr. Brainerd's complaints made rapid and alarming progress. Sometimes he was so low, that his friends despaired of his life, and even thought he could scarcely survive a day. He afterwards, however, recovered in a considerable degree; and in the following spring, he once more visited his beloved Indians, but was obliged to leave them almost immediately, and to continue riding about for his health. The loss of time which this occasioned was a severe trial to him, and often contributed, with other circumstances, to inspire him with the most gloomy reflections. But thongh he was at first troubled with melancholy, an affection to which he was constitutionally subject, he afterwards became more cheerful, especially as the prospect of death drew near. One evening, when he was attacked with a slight degree of diarrhœa, which he justly considered as a further token of the fatal progress of his disorder, he exclaimed; "Oh, the glorious time is now coming! I have longed to serve God perfectly; now he will gratify my desires." As new symptoms of approaching dissolution made their appearance, he became still more animated and cheerful. When he spoke of the period of his death, he used to call it, "that glorious day;" nor was this because he should then be delivered from sorrow and pain, and raised to dignity and honour, for he considered that as comparatively a low and ignoble

(q) Brainerd's Life, p. 243.

consideration, but because he should then be able to glorify God with a pure and perfect heart. One night, when he was attempting to walk a little, he thought with himself: "How infinitely sweet is it, to love God, and to be all for him." Upon which it occurred to him: "You are not an angel, not lively and active." To this, his whole soul instantly replied: "I as sincerely desire to love and glorify God, as any angel in heaven." The same evening, he exclaimed: "My heaven is to please God, to give all to him, to be wholly devoted to his glory; that is the heaven I long for; that is my religion; that is my happiness, and always was, ever since, I suppose, I had any true religion. I do not go to heaven to get honour, but to give all possible glory and praise. It is no matter where I shall be stationed in heaven, whether I have a high or a low seat there; but to love, and please, and glorify God is all. Had I a thousand souls, if they were worth any thing, I would give them all to him; but I have nothing to give when all is done. My heart goes out to the burying ground; it seems to me a desirable place; but, Oh, to glorify God! that is it, that is above all. It is a great comfort to me to think, that I have done a little for God in the world. Oh! it is but a very small matter; yet I have done a little, and I lament I have not done more for him. There is nothing in the world worth living for, but doing good, living to God, pleasing him, and doing his whole will." *(r)*

Mr. Brainerd was now daily growing worse; but yet ill as he was, he eagerly employed the little strength which still remained, in some attempts to promote the glory of the Redeemer and the salvation of souls. It greatly refreshed him amidst all his bodily sickness and pain, that he was enabled to contribute a little towards these important objects. Nature, however, was, at length, exhausted. He gradually sunk under the ravages of his disorder, and after a

(r) Brainerd's Life, p. 245, 247, 256, 272.

severe struggle, breathed his last, October 9, 1747, in the thirtieth year of his age. *(s)*

Thus died Mr. David Brainerd, a young man, whose extraordinary worth and piety entitle him to the warmest admiration and respect of the Christian world, and whose memory deserves to be embalmed to the latest generations. The whole number of Indians whom he collected together amounted to about a hundred and fifty, though, when he first visited that part of the country, they did not amount to ten. Of these, near ninety were baptized, of whom about one half were adults, the other children, and nearly forty were communicants It is proper, however, to observe, that he baptized no adults, but such as gave satisfactory evidence of their sincere conversion to Christ. There were many others of the Indians under deep concern for their souls, who possessed competent knowledge and apparent seriousness to render them fit subjects of that ordinance; but as they appeared to be merely under convictions of their sinfulness and misery, and did not give sufficient evidence of a saving change, he very properly deferred their baptism. Some months before his death, the children in the school amounted to upwards of fifty, of whom near thirty were reading in the New Testament, most of them were able to repeat the whole of the Assembly's Shorter Catechism, and many of them appeared under serious impressions of religion. *(t)*

After this excellent man was obliged to leave his Indian flock, he was succeeded in the charge of them by his younger brother, Mr. John Brainerd. Under him the affairs of the mission continued for some years to flourish in a pleasing manner. The number of the Indians was increased to about two hundred, including old and young, though, for sometime, there was a considerable mortality

(s) Brainerd's Life, p. 277, 285.

(t) Brainerd s Life, p. 450, 481, 225, 240—Account of the Society, &c. prefixed to a Sermon by Robert Walker, p. 71.

among them. Most of those who appeared to have been converted under the ministry of his excellent brother, not only persevered in the profession of religion, but adorned it by a holy exemplary conversation, though several, as might be expected, were guilty of grievous backsliding. Some of those who had lately joined the settlement were brought under serious concern for their souls; and others of the congregation appeared to be made partakers of divine grace. Besides, they daily made progress in civilization, and in the arts of life. The men cultivated the ground; the women learned to spin; and both, in a great measure, abandoned that idle slothful course of life which is so habitual to all the tribes of Indians. The school also was in a flourishing state; even the old people were so anxious to learn to read and understand the Scriptures, that many of them attended it in the evening, some of them forty or fifty years of age. Several of the boys were put out to trades, and it was proposed to erect a working-school for the girls. *(u)*

Besides labouring among his own congregation, Mr. John Brainerd made frequent journies among the Indians in distant places, though with no other material effect than inducing some of them to come and settle with his people. In one of his visits to the Susquehannah, besides the obstacles common to undertakings of that kind, he had to encounter a difficulty of rather an extraordinary nature. On his arrival, the Indians pretended that they had just received a revelation from heaven, which, after representing the evil of some particular vices, and recommending the sacrifice of a deer, and certain other superstitious practices, concluded by telling them, that God made two worlds, one for the White people, and the other for the Indians; that

(u) Brainerd's Life, pp. 249, 283, 341.—Gillies' Historical Collections, vol. ii. p. 448.—Account of the Society, &c. prefixed to a Sermon by Robert Walker.—Blair's Sermon, before the Society in Scotland for propagating Christian Knowledge. App. p. 44.—Plenderleath's Sermon, ditto, App. 75.

the White people had no business to come into the Indian country, much less to persuade them to embrace their religion, for that he had commanded them to worship him in their own way, and their Red brethren to worship him in another; and though the White people made some pretences of instructing them, yet they had no design of doing them good, but merely to put money into their own pockets. This revelation, it is probable, was the production of some interested Indian, perhaps of some artful powaw; but yet, in consequence of it, Mr. Brainerd was able to do little amongst these poor people, though in other respects they seemed more civilized than any he had hitherto seen. *(v)*

Among the many difficulties attending the Christianizing and civilization of the Indians, their living in small villages scattered through the wilderness was none of the least. It was therefore an object for some years, with the Society for propagating Christian Knowledge, to collect them together into one place, and to fix them in regular habitations. This, indeed, had been accomplished in part by Mr. David Brainerd, previous to his death; and in 1759, Mr. John Brainerd settled upon a tract of land, which was purchased on their account by the government of New-Jersey. The extent of country under his charge, was a hundred miles east and west, and near eighty north and south. The land for the use of the Indians consisted of about four thousand acres, and was situated near the centre of the country, between the river Delaware and the Atlantic ocean. The soil was suitable for Indian corn, rice, beans, potatoes, English clover, and various kinds of fruit trees, and wanted nothing but cultivation, to supply the Indians with plenty of vegetables. *(w)*

(v) Gillies' Hist. Coll. vol. ii. p. 448.—Bonar's Sermon before the Society in Scotland for propagating Christian Knowledge, App. p. 50.

(w) Macqueen's Sermons before the Society in Scotland for propagating Christian Knowledge, Appendix. Account of the Society in Scotland for propagating Christian Knowledge, 1774, p. 15, 18.

It does not appear, however, that this new arrangement was attended with that success which was expected or desired. To what particular causes this is to be ascribed, we do not certainly know. In 1774, Mr. Thomas Rankin, a Methodist preacher, informs us, that he met with Mr. John Brainerd; "but, alas!" adds he, "what an unpleasing account did he give me of the remains of his excellent brother's labours, as well as of his own among the Indians! When his brother died, there was a large company of Indians who regularly attended the preaching of the word, and above sixty who were communicants. The number, however, who attended his ministry, was now small, and there were not above ten or twelve who were qualified for admission to the Lord's Supper. On asking him the reason of this declension, he observed, that some were dead, and died happy in the Lord; others had grown careless and lukewarm; and many had wandered back among their Pagan countrymen, several of whom had even returned to their idolatrous customs. Some, also, had yielded to the love of spiritous liquors, from which they seemed once completely weaned. Thus 'the gold had become dim, and the most fine gold was changed.'" We have given Mr. Rankin's account at large, but do not pledge ourselves for its accuracy. It is obvious he was mistaken with regard to the number of communicants at the time of Mr. David Brainerd's death, for instead of being upwards of sixty, they did not amount to forty; and it appears from an official statement published about this very period, that the number of Indians under the pastoral care of Mr. John Brainerd, instead of being small, amounted to about a hundred and fifty or sixty, which is equal to what they were when he succeeded his brother; and it is stated by the same authority, that, "as to their morals, they were, in general, rather reformed, and many of them even supported an unblemished character." Perhaps, therefore, Mr. Rankin, in the picture he has drawn, may undesignedly have overcharged the colouring in some

other particulars; but yet we fear, his representation was by no means without foundation. *(x)*

During the American war, Mr. John Brainerd's correspondence with the Society in Scotland was suspended, and toward the close of it he died. He was succeeded, in 1783, in the charge of the Indian congregation, by Mr. Daniel Simon, an Indian, who had been ordained to the ministry; but it was soon after found necessary to suspend him from his office, on account of drunkenness and other irregularities. No missionary was appointed to succeed him; but the congregation was occasionally supplied by the neighbouring ministers. *(y)*

In July 1802, some commissioners from New-Jersey conducted eighty-five Delaware Indians, the remains of Mr. John Brainerd's congregation, to New Stockbridge, to place them under the ministry of Mr. Sergeant, the missionary in that town; and it was then stated, that after Mr. Brainerd's death they were left alone, having no spiritual shepherd to watch over them, no meetings for divine worship on the Sabbath, and no school for their children. Hence, they in general grew very wicked, and for many years past had been in a very miserable state, scattered through the country, and excessively addicted to drinking. *(z)*

Such a result of those bright, those pleasing prospects, which once dawned on this tribe of Indians, is truly deplorable. Few of these individuals, however, could have belonged to Mr. David Brainerd's congregation, and such as did, must, in general, have been little more than children at that time. Indeed, though there certainly was an extraordinary work of grace among his people, yet it was never

(x) Methodist Magazine, vol. xxxiv. p. 445. Account of the Society for propagating Christian Knowledge, 1774, p. 18.

(y) American Correspondence, among the records of the Society in Scotland for propagating Christian Knowledge, MS. vol i. p 48, 49, 72, 122, 123.

(z) Religious Monitor, vol. i. p. 189.

supposed they were all converted. *(a)* Of adults, he baptized only between forty and fifty, and though there were many others, as we have already mentioned, under deep concern for their souls, who possessed sufficient knowledge and apparent seriousness, to render them fit subjects of that ordinance, yet as they did not give satisfactory evidence of a saving change, he judged it expedient to defer their baptism. Now, as the Christian Indians, in general, continued for several years at least to adorn their profession by a holy exemplary conversation; as some of them died happy in the Lord; as, in 1774, twenty-seven years after Mr. Brainerd's death, there were still, even according to the most unfavourable accounts, ten or twelve, who were considered as fit for admission to the Lord's Supper, it is probable there were as many, or even a greater number than he ever supposed, who were truly converted to Christ, maintained a Christian deportment to the last, and now join with him in heaven, in celebrating the praises of God and of the Lamb. It gives us pleasure to state, that the late Dr. Witherspoon, president of New-Jersey College, in referring to these Indians, assures us that it was fully attested, that they had persevered, with scarcely any exceptions, in their profession of religion, and even adorned it by their exemplary conversation. *(b)* Still, however, it is melancholy to think, that our hopes with respect to so many other of the Indians, as well as with regard to the extension and the permanent establishment of the mission, have been so miserably disappointed. Let us learn not to be too sanguine in our expectations, even when appearances are of the most promising nature; and especially not be so intoxicated by the most promising appearances, as to cease to "watch unto prayer."

(a) Brainerd's Life, p. 340.

(b) American Correspondence, MS. vol. i. p. 171.

SECTION VI.

Oneida.

IN November, 1764, Mr. Samuel Kirkland, son of a minister at Norwich in Connecticut, after finishing his education at Nassau Hall in New-Jersey College, set off for the country of the Senecas, with the view of learning their language, and of introducing Christianity among them. Having been obliged to stop some weeks by the way for a convoy, he afterwards proceeded on his journey, under the conduct of two Indians of that tribe. As the ground was then covered with snow, he travelled on snow shoes, with his pack of provisions on his back, about two hundred and fifty miles, through a wilderness where there was no path, and no houses in which to lodge. After journeying in this manner for seventeen days, he reached a Seneca town called Kanasadago. Here he met with a kind reception from the Indians; but it was not long before he was involved in unforseen difficulties. A few days after Mr. Kirkland's arrival, the chief man of the town in whose hut he lodged, died very suddenly. He lay down in his usual health at night, and was found dead in the morning. Upon this a general suspicion arose among the Indians, that the White man had either killed him with magic, or had brought death and destruction to the town. After this they gave him nothing to eat for two days, and they even held a consultation among themselves, whether it would not be best to kill him. They resolved, however, only to set a guard upon him, and to kill him should he attempt to make his escape. Soon after a famine arose in that quarter of the country, and for two months Mr. Kirkland lived without bread, flesh, or salt, excepting once that he tasted part of a bear. His common food was small fish, roots, acorns, and a handful of pounded corn boiled in a large quantity of water. The Indians seeing

his patience and perseverance, began to conceive a good opinion of him; and at length, many of them were persuaded that it was the Great Spirit who had disposed him to come and visit them. Still, however, there was a number of them who threatened his life; and one of the warriors in particular, declared that he would kill him, let the consequences be what they would. *(a)*

In May 1766, Mr. Kirkland returned from the country of the Senecas, and after being ordained to the office of the ministry, set off for Kanonwarohare, one of the principal towns of the Oneida Indians, accompanied by two or three other missionaries and schoolmasters from Dr. Wheelock's Indian school at Lebanon in Connecticut. A school had already been established in that village; the children who attended it made great progress in learning; and the Indians in general were extremely anxious to have a minister settled among them. *(b)* Taking advantage of this circumstance, Mr. Kirkland, soon after his arrival, called them all together, and told them, that if they would solemnly engage to abandon the practice of drunkenness, and enable him to carry their determination into execution, by appointing six or eight of their principal men to assist him, with full power to seize all spirituous liquor, and either to destroy it, or dispose of it as he should think proper, he would remain among them; but if they would not consent to this proposal, he would then leave them. After some days consideration, they agreed to this plan, and appointed eight persons nominated by Mr. Kirkland as his assistants, who proved very active and faithful in carrying it into execution. Such, indeed, was the success of this measure, that though in a short time, about eighty casks of rum were carried through the town, and offered to the Indians for sale, and even in some instances, offered them as a present, yet in no instance were they persuaded to accept of it. For a period of about three months,

(a) Brief Narrative of the Indian Charity School at Lebanon in Connecticut, p. 29, 53. *(b)* Ibid. p. 55, 57, 38, 43.

only two were guilty of intoxication; and one of these was the only person in the town who opposed Mr. Kirkland's measures.

In the summer of 1767, Mr. Kirkland, and the Indians under his care, suffered no inconsiderable distress from the scarcity of provisions. For two years past their corn had been destroyed by the frost, and this season the worms threatened to lay waste at least one half of the crop, which was then in the ground. 'From week to week," says Mr. Kirkland, "I am obliged to go with the Indians to Oneida lake, to catch eels for my subsistance. I have lodged and slept with them till I am as lousy as a dog. Flour and milk, with a few eels, have been my only living. Such diet, with my hard labour abroad, is not sufficient to support nature; my strength, indeed, begins to fail. My poor people are almost starved to death. There is one family consisting of four persons whom I must support the best way I can, or they would certainly perish. Indeed, I would myself be glad of an opportunity to fall upon my knees for such a bone, as I have often seen cast to the dogs. Without relief I shall soon perish. My constitution is almost broken; my spirits sunk: yet my heart still bleeds for these poor creatures. I had rather die than leave them alone in their present miserable condition."

Mr. Kirkland's necessities were no sooner known than they were supplied by his friends. But he had not long escaped from danger of perishing by hunger, when he was in no small hazard of his life from one of the Indians, in consequence of his endeavours to execute the law respecting spirituous liquors. Having learned that two or three women were drinking near the town, and that they had a great quantity of rum, he went immediately to them; and though they had concealed the liquor for fear of him, yet he soon discovered it, and destroyed it without further ceremony. One of the poor creatures afterwards fell upon her knees, and with bitter cries and tears mourned over the loss of her beloved liquor, and even licked up what was not soaked into the earth,

uttering many imprecations against her cruel minister. The husband of the woman to whom the spirits belonged, (a man who, by his own confession, had murdered no fewer than fourteen persons,) was so enraged, that he threatened to kill Mr. Kirkland, and even brought some Indians from a neighbouring town to assist him in executing his barbarous design. "The matter," said he, "is now settled; the minister shall never see another rising sun." Being apprized of his design, Mr. Kirkland was persuaded to leave the village that night, and to retire to a sugar-house about a mile and a half distant. He returned, however, to the town next morning; and though some of the Indians were still much enraged against him, yet most of them seemed more than ever attached to him, and expressed the utmost concern for his safety. One of them even offered three times to die in his stead.

Soon after this event, Mr. Kirkland visited the neighbouring town of Old Oneida, the inhabitants of which had manifested the utmost aversion to the gospel, and were so violent against the new regulation respecting spiritous liquors, that they employed every artifice to check the progress of the reformation; and even near relations, such as brothers and sisters, would not visit each other after the agreement was made. Now, however, they were much impressed by the word; and the inhabitants of the two villages not only came to hear the gospel with each other, but their mutual differences were completely removed, and a formal reconciliation effected between them. The people of Old Oneida even expressed their determination to enter into the same engagement as their brethren with regard to the spirituous liquors; and it was agreed among them, that Mr. Kirkland should preach every other Sabbath at the two places. This change in the temper of the inhabitants of that town was the more extraordinary, as only a few months before they were loading Mr. Kirkland with imprecations, and wishing that he was dead. The whole transaction, indeed, was

remarkably solemn. The tears flowed from many an eye, which formerly was seldom known to weep.

The mission among the Oneidas now assumed a most promising aspect; it seemed as if "the wilderness would soon rejoice and blossom as the rose." The Lord's day was observed by the Indians with the utmost strictness; drunkenness was in a great measure banished from among them; and there was a number who appeared to be sincere converts to the faith of Christ. Even the poor wretch who had lately sought Mr. Kirkland's life was under deep convictions of sin, and made a public confession of his guilt in a most humble manner. *(c)* The following extract of a letter which some of the Oneidas wrote in December 1770, on receiving some small pecuniary assistance, exhibits no unfavourable idea of hteir powers of expression, as well as of the state of religion among them:—"The holy word of Jesus has got place amongst us, and advances. Many have lately forsaken their sins to appearance, and turned to God. There are some among us who are very stubborn and strong; but Jesus is Almighty and has all strength, and his holy word is very strong too. Therefore we hope it will conquer and succeed more and more. We say no more, only we ask our fathers to pray for us, though they are at a great distance. Perhaps by and bye, through the strength and mercy of Jesus, we shall meet in his kingdom above. Farewell.

"TAGAWAROW, Chief of the Bear Tribe.
"SUGHNAGEAROT, Chief of the Wolf Tribe.
"OJEKHETA, Chief of the Turtle Tribe." *(d)* *

(c) A continuation of the Narrative of the Indian Charity School, p. 1, 3, 11, 17, &c.

(d) Stevenson's Sermon before the Society in Scotland for propagating Christian Knowledge, 1772, p. 53.

* The Oneida nation is divided into three tribes, the Bear, the Wolf, and the Turtle.—Mass. Hist. Coll. vol. v. p. 17.

In June 1773, the Society in Scotland for propagating Christian Knowledge, took Mr. Kirkland under their patronage, and agreed to pay his salary in conjunction with the corporation of Harvard College in New-England. *(e)* During the American war, which began not long after, Mr. Kirkland was much interrupted in his labours among the Indians, as the country was in a very unsettled state; but yet he often visited them, preaching the gospel, and performing other ministerial duties among them, notwithstanding the danger and fatigue to which it necessarily exposed him. *(f)* During this period, the Oneidas were likewise severe sufferers. A few of them joined the British; but the greater part adhered to the Americans. Many of their warriors were slain in battle; and after the destruction of their villages and churches by the English, they removed to the plains of Schenectady, or wandered among the neighbouring towns, till the cessation of hostilities permitted them to return to their own settlements. *(g)*

After the conclusion of the war, the Oneidas made a grant of land to a considerable number of other Indians of different tribes, that they might come and settle in their neighbourhood; and they expected that in the course of two years, there would be upwards of a thousand of their countrymen in their vicinity disposed to listen to the word of God, and to cultivate the arts of civilized life. Having now the prospect of being again settled in their own country, they were extremely anxious that Mr. Kirkland should return and live among them. "We have been attending," said they, "for many years to the vast difference between White people and Indians. We have laboured much to investigate the cause; for the one are in prosperous circum-

(e) Account of the Society in Scotland for propagating Christian Knowledge, 1774, p. 17.

(f) Fraser's Sermon before the Society in Scotland for propagating Christian Knowledge, p. 43.

(g) Mass. Hist. Coll. vol. iv. p. 69; vol. v. p. 16.

stances, the other are indigent and wretched. The one appear to be the favourites of heaven, and honourable in the sight of men; the other to be despised and rejected of both. We Indians, therefore, must alter our conduct. We must give up our Pagan customs. We must unite with all our wisdom and strength, to cultivate the manners and civilization of the White people, who are thus distinguished by the favour and protection of the Great Spirit above, and embrace the religion of Christ, or we shall, for many years, be not only despised by the nations of the earth, but utterly rejected by the Lord Jesus, the Saviour of the White people.

"We entreat our Father to make one trial more for Christianizing the Indians, at least for one, if not for two years; and if there be no encouragement after this, that we shall be built up as a people and embrace the religion of Christ, he may leave us, and we shall expect nothing but ruin."

About the same time the Indians addressed a letter to the commissioners in Boston, who were invested by the Society in Scotland with the superintendence of the mission; and in this letter they beseech them to send Mr. Kirkland among them, in the following energetic language:

"Fathers, attend to our words!

"It is a long time since we heard your voice. We hope you have not forgotten us. The Great Spirit above hath preserved us, and led us back to our country, and rekindled our fire in peace, which we hope he will preserve to warm and refresh us and our children to the latest posterity.

"Fathers, we have been distressed with the black cloud that so long overspread our country. The cloud is now blown over. Let all thank the Great Spirit, and praise Christ Jesus. By means of his servants, the good news of salvation have been published to us. We have received them. Some of us love the Lord Jesus, who hath preserved us through the late storm. Fathers, our fire just

begins to burn again. Our hearts rejoice to see it. We hope it will burn brighter and brighter than ever, and that it will enlighten the Indian nations around us.

" Fathers, we doubt not but your hearts will rejoice in our prosperity; and as the Great Spirit above hath given us the light of peace once more, we hope he will, by your means, send to us the light of his holy word; and that you will think of our father Mr. Kirkland, and enable him to eat his bread by our fire-side. He hath for several years laboured among us, and done every thing in his power for our good. Our father Mr. Kirkland loves us, and we love him. He hath long had the charge of us, hath long watched over us, and explained the word of God to us. Fathers, we repeat our request, that you will continue our father to sit by our fire-side, to watch over us, to instruct us, and to lead us in the way to heaven." *(h)*

Agreeably to the request of the Indians, Mr. Kirkland returned and settled among them in the autumn of 1785. In several villages, particularly Kanonwarohare, Old Oneida, and Kanadesko, he found the people extremely desirous of religious instruction, with the exception of only two or three who were professed Pagans, so that they would assemble for that purpose at almost any time of the day. On the Sabbath, he generally performed divine service at Kanonwarohare, as it was not only their principal village, but the most centrical of the whole. Here the Indians collected in such numbers from the other towns, which were four, six, ten, and even near thirty miles distant, that there was no house sufficiently large to contain them, and therefore they were often obliged to assemble for public worship under the trees in the open air. The order, attention, and solemnity which appeared in their meetings, were often truly delightful. They never seemed tired of hearing the word of God; their applications for instruction were frequently so inces-

(h) Fraser's Sermon before the Society in Scotland for propagating Christian Knowledge.

sant, that Mr. Kirkland had scarcely leisure to take his food. Upwards of seventy of them appeared to be under serious impressions of religion. Their views of divine truth were, in general, scriptural and rational, though some appeared to have a tincture of enthusiasm. Their convictions of sin were deep and pungent; and in many instances, the sense of its evil seemed so rise higher than the fear of punishment. There was, at the same time, a remarkable reformation of manners among them. Many who had been guilty of the foulest crimes, and had led an extremely dissipated life, now became sober, regular, and industrious: for some months there was not a single instance of intoxication in two of the villages; *(i)* but this fair prospect was afterwards overcast; religion declined among them and even sunk to a very low ebb.

In the summer of 1796, the Rev. Drs. Morse and Belknap proceeded, by desire of the Society in Scotland for propagating Christian Knowledge, to the Oneida country, in order to enquire into the state of the mission among the Indians. By their report, it appears, that at the last annual enumeration, the number of Indians, including men, women, and children, under the care of Mr. Kirkland, amounted to six hundred and twenty-eight. For some years past, however, there had been no pure Oneidas. There was scarcely, indeed, an individual among them who was not descended on one side or other from English, Scotch, Irish, French, German or Dutch parents, and some also from negroes. Among them there were only eight persons who were professed Pagans; but though the others called themselves Christians, the greater part of them appeared to have nothing of Christianity but the name. Of the women, there were thirty-six who were reputed sober, and among these Mr. Kirkland reckoned twenty-four to be serious Christians. Of the men, there were only three or four who were of a sober character; and at the last communion only one

(i) Rippon's Baptist Register, vol. ii.

attended. Mr. Kirkland baptized no children except those whose parents, or at least one of them, were members of the church. But the others were at little loss on this account, for they carried their children thirty or forty miles to the Dutch or German plantations, where, on paying the usual fee of half a dollar, they found no difficulty in obtaining baptism for them, and then they were perfectly easy about their salvation. *(k)*

Though the number of professed Pagans was small, yet the whole nation, notwithstanding their opportunities for religious improvement, were still influenced in a great degree by their ancient mythology. They were all firm believers in witchcraft and the agency of invisible beings; they paid great regard to dreams and omens, and attributed the most common events to causes with which they could not have the most distant connection. Some time ago, an Indian was drowned in one of the Oneida creeks, which were annually visited by salmon. When the fishing season returned, they imagined that none of these creatures could be found in that stream, until a gentleman from Albany, who happened to be in the neighbourhood, persuaded them that he had put something into the water to purify it; upon which, they resorted to the creek, caught the fish as formerly, and thought themselves much obliged to the gentleman for his kindness. *(l)*

In the savage state, it was usual for the men to attach themselves to no particular woman, but to rove at large among the females till they had passed the vigour of youth, and then they confined themselves to one as their wife. The Oneidas now marry young, and are said to be more continent than formerly. *(m)*

Murders were said to be less frequent than formerly; but still they are by no means uncommon. A melancholy instance of this kind, which happened a few days before the

(k) Mass. Hist. Coll, vol. v. p. 12, 15, 17.
(l) Ibid. vol. v. p. 15. *(m)* Ibid. vol. v. p. 17.

arrival of Doctors Morse and Belknap, exhibits a striking proof of the relaxed state of society among them. Two young Oneidas having had a quarrel, the one shot the other dead. The father of the deceased immediately went and dispatched the murderer, and no further notice was taken of the matter. *(n)*

With respect to drinking spirituous liquors to excess, they were generally addicted to it, when they had them in their power, except the few persons already mentioned. The chiefs, indeed, have frequently attempted to prohibit the introduction and sale of that pernicious article; but from the small degree of power they possess, and the unquenchable desire which the people have for ardent spirits, these efforts have hitherto proved ineffectual, nor does it seem likely that any measures of this kind will soon be attended with success. *(o)* *

(n) Mass. Hist. Coll. vol. v. p. 17.
(o) Ibid. vol. v. p. 20, 21.

* No external circumstances has contributed more to impede the progress of Christianity, and the arts of civilization among the Indians of North America, than the introduction of spirituous liquors among them by the White people. Of this they themselves have long been sensible; but though they have occasionally displayed much eloquence in declaiming against the rum trade, and have often passed excellent laws with regard to it; yet so little resolution have they, that they fall before the first temptation that presents itself. Beatty's *Tour, with the view of promoting Christianity among the Indians*, p. 31. Loskeel's *History of the Mission of the United Brethren among the Indians*, part i. p. 100, part ii. p. 156, part iii. p. 87.

In June 1802, when a chief named Little Turtle passed through Baltimore, on his way to visit the president of the United States, the Quakers in that town, who had for several years past been making some laudable attempts to promote the civilization of the Indians, had an interview with him, and having adverted to the pernicious effect of the rum trade, in preventing the success of their endeavours, he made a

As to agriculture, it was yet in its infancy among the Oneidas, and the labour of cultivating the fields was still performed chiefly by the women. Idleness is the sin that

very impressive and pathetic speech on the subject, of which the following is an extract:

"Brothers and Friends,

"When our forefathers first met on this island, your Red brethren were very numerous; but since the introduction amongst us of what *you* call *spirituous liquors*, and what *we* think may justly be called *poison*, our numbers are greatly diminished. It has destroyed a great part of your Red brethren.

"My Brothers and Friends,

"We plainly perceive, that you see the very evil which destroys your Red brethren. It is not an evil of our own making. We have not placed it amongst ourselves. It is an evil placed amongst us by the White people. We look to them to remove it out of the country. We tell them, brethren, fetch us useful things; bring us goods that will clothe us, our women, and our children: and not this evil liquor, that destroys our health, that destroys our reason, that destroys our lives. But all that we can say on this subject is of no service, nor gives relief to your Red brethren.

"My Brothers and Friends,

"I rejoice to find, that you agree in opinion with us, and express an anxiety to be, if possible, of service to us, in removing this great evil out of our country; an evil which has had so much room in it, and has destroyed so many of our lives, that it causes our young men to say, 'We had better be at war with the White people. This liquor which they introduce into our country, is more to be feared than the gun and the tomahawk.' There are more of us dead since the treaty of Greeneville, than we lost by the six years war before. It is all owing to the introduction of this liquor among us.

"Brothers,

"When our young men have been out hunting, and are returned home loaded with skins and furs, on their way, if it happens that they come where this whisky is deposited, the White man who sells it, tells them to take a

easily besets them, and is the natural parent of many other of their vices, "Indians cannot work," is a saying often in their mouths. They have an idea, that to labour in cultiva-

little drink. Some of them will say, 'No, I do not want it.' They go on till they come to another house, where they find more of the same kind of drink. It is there offered again, they refuse; and again the third time; but finally, the fourth or fifth time one accepts of it, and takes a drink, and getting one he wants another, and then a third and fourth, till his senses have left him. After his reason comes back to him, when he gets up, and finds where he is, he asks for his peltry. The answer is, 'You have drank them.' 'Where is my gun?' 'It is gone.' 'Where is my blanket?' 'It is gone.' 'Where is my shirt?' 'You have sold it for whisky!' Now, Brothers, figure to yourselves what condition this man must be in. He has a family at home; a wife and children who stand in need of the profits of his hunting. What must be their wants, when even he himself is without a shirt?"

After mature deliberation, the committee of the Quakers, convinced that no progress could be made in the civilization of the Indians, while they were so abundantly supplied with ardent spirits, resolved to address Congress on this subject. The memorial they presented was favourably received by the legislature, and a law was passed, which in some degree provided a remedy for this enormous evil. From this measure the most beneficial effects immediately resulted. So early as the summer of 1803, a letter was received from the agent for Indian affairs, in which he says, "Since there have been no spiritous liquors in the Indian country, they have appeared very industrious, and fond of raising stock. In this neighbourhood, there has not been one Indian killed for a year past, although in no preceding year since the treaty of Greeneville had there been fewer than ten, and, in some instances, as many as thirty killed." He further adds, "That the Indians appeared to be very desirous of procuring for themselves the necessaries of life in our way, but say they do not know how to begin. Some of their old men say, "the White people want nothing. We wish them to shew us how to provide the many good things we see amongst them. If it is their wish to instruct us in their way of living, as they tell us it is, let

ting the ground is degrading to the character of a man, who, they say, " was made for war and hunting, and holding councils; and that women and hedgehogs were made to

them do it quickly, for we are old, and must soon die; but we wish to see our women and children in that path, that will lead them to happiness before we die.' Happily these wishes have not been in vain. In the course of a very short time, the progress of the Indians in the civilization, in the cultivation of their lands, in spinning, knitting, &c. far surpassed the expectation of their most sanguine friends" (*Accounts of two Attempts towards the Civilization of some Indian Natives*, part ii. p. 17, &c.) We shall rejoice if these improvements are permanent; but the Indians are so fickle and irresolute a people, and the fair hopes to which they have often given birth have hitherto been so miserably disappointed, that we cannot but entertain strong apprehensions of the final result, especially as the attempts of the Quakers are made independent of Christianity, which we are confident, is the first and almost the only mean of civilizing the barbarous nations of the world.

In the speech of Little Turtle to the Quakers at Baltimore, there are some striking allusions to the diminution of the Indian tribes, This is a subject, to which their orators often refer in very feeling and energetic terms. In a letter, which the Stockbridge Indians addressed a few years ago to the New-York Baptist Association, we meet with the following picturesque language:

" Wise Men and Brothers,

" We beg your attention to the voice of your Indian brethren, commonly called the Stockbridge Indians, having our fire-place near the front door of the different tribes of Indians; we desire to speak to your ears.

" In the first place, we will remind you, that we believe it was the will of the great good Spirit, that your forefathers were brought over the great waters to this island for a certain good purpose. Our forefathers then appeared like tall trees, but were under the dark clouds, yet they contended well in it.

Brothers, with sorrowful heart we now desire you to look back a little, and view the ruins of our mighty trees; you can scarcely find where they have fallen,—scarcely find any

scratch the earth." It is also a proverbial tradition among them, that "the Great Spirit gave the White man a plough, and the Red man a bow and an arrow, and sent them into

stumps or roots remaining; but if you look down near your feet, you will see the remnant of your brethren like small bushes, who now looking up speak to you, for you are become very great; you reach to the clouds, you can see all over this island, but we can scarcely reach to your ankles." *Rippon's Baptist Register*, vol. iii.

This is no exaggerated picture, it is a simple representation of facts. In New-England, Dr. Holmes informs us, there is scarcely a collection of Indians sufficiently numerous to be denominated a tribe. The Massachusetts, the Pennakooks, the Agawomes, the Naumkeeks, the Piscataways, the Wampanoags, the Saconets, the Nipmugs, and many other tribes, are now totally extinct. Some imperfect idea may be formed, respecting the remains of the New-England Indians from the following account, which is derived chiefly from actual enumerations. The statement embraces the principal tribes at the latest dates, at which estimates have been made of their number; but few of these are recent; and in the lapse of nearly half a century, it is probable some of the tribes in this list may have become extinct, while those who remain must be essentially diminished; for it should be remembered, that the diminution of the Indian tribes is generally accelerated in an increasing ratio toward the period of their extinction.

1761.	King Ninegret's tribe,	248
1761.	The Moutauks,	162
1761.	The Neantics,	85
1762.	The Pequots,	140
1762.	The tribe about Derby, &c. Connecticut,	127
1762.	The Potenummecuts, near Harwich,	64
1762.	The Monymoyks, at Chatham, Cape Cod,	25
1792.	The Marshpees,	280
1792.	The Herring Pond Indians,	120
1792.	The Indians in Duke's county, including Martha's Vineyard, Chabbaquiddick, Noman's and Elizabeth's Island,	440
1797.	The Natick Indians, nearly	20
1803.	The Penobscots, estimated at	347
1803.	The Mohegans,	84

the world by different paths, each to get a living in his own way." Among the Oneidas the land was still held in common; and, though an agreement was made near two years before, "to set apart to any person who should require it, two hundred acres of land, to be held by him and his posterity, with power to set it to any other person of their own nation, but not to any of the White people." yet nothing had been done in consequence of this arrangement. Not more than two or three families procured a subsistence entirely by agriculture; and these had little encouragement to proceed, as their neighbours used to live upon them as long as they

In 1774, the whole number of Indians in Rhode-Island colony was 1482, and the whole number in Connecticut was 1363. In 1792, it was stated, that there were no Indians in New-Hampshire, some of them having removed into Canada, but the greater part were extinct. The Indians were never numerous in Vermont, and, at the period now mentioned, there were none who lived in that part of the country. Within the District of Maine, the Indians were all Roman Catholics, and were reduced to about sixty families on Penobscot river, and about thirty at Passamaquoddy, at each of which places they had a church. *Holme's Sermon before the Society at Boston, for propagating the Gospel among the Indians and others in North America*, p. 32, 41.

In 1796, the numbers of the Six Nations, principally inhabited the western parts of the state of New-York, were as follow:

	Within the United States.	Within the British lines.
Mohawks		300
Oneidas	628	
Cayugas	40	460
Onondagos	450	
Tuscaroras	400	
Senekas	1780	
New-Stockbridge	300	
Brothertown	150	
Total	3748	760

Mass. Hist. Coll. vol. v. p. 23.

could find anything to eat. The Oneidas, in general, procured a miserable kind of subsistence, by fishing and fowling; by raising a little corn, beans and potatoes; and by means of an annuity of 3552 dollars from the legislature of New-York, as the price of lands purchased from them in 1794, and in lieu of all former stipulations; but this money, instead of being an incitement, is a discouragement to industry; for as long as an Indian can procure a living any other way, he will not work. The Oneidas affected to despise their more industrious neighbours of Stockbridge, for their attention to agriculture; but yet they were obliged to buy their corn and other provisions from them. *(p)*

Such was the very unfavourable account which Drs. Morse and Belknap gave of the mission among the Oneidas. The zeal and perseverance, the piety, benevolence, and activity which Mr. Kirkland displayed in promoting Christianity and civilization among the Indians, had afforded the highest gratification to the Society in Scotland for propagating Christian Knowledge; *(q)* but after receiving the report, they were much dissatisfied with his conduct, *(r)* and judged it proper to dismiss him from their service. *(s)* His health, indeed, was now on the decline, and for two years he was entirely disabled from all public duty. *(t)* Afterwards, however, he recovered not only his health, but, in a considerable degree, his reputation, and continued to labour among the Indians under the patronage of the Corporation of Harvard College, who still retained him in their employ. *(u)* At length, after having spent

(p) Mass. Hist. Coll, vol. v. p. 19, 22, 26. 28.

(q) American Correspondence among the records of the Society in Scotland for propagating the Christian Knowledge, MS. vol. i. p. 259, 279.

(r) Ibid. vol. i. p. 316, 317, 327, 349, &c.

(s) Ibid. vol. i. p. 378, 385.

(t) Ibid. vol. ii. p 21.

(u) Ibid. vol. ii. p. 95.

upwards of forty years as a missionary among the Indians, he died at Paru in the county of Oneida, March 28, 1808, aged sixty-seven. *(w)*

Since the death of Mr. Kirkland, the Northern Missionary Society have taken the Oneida Indians under their patronage, and have sent the Rev. Mr. Jenkins to settle among them. An Indian named Abram also laboured with great activity and zeal in promoting religion among his countrymen. *(x)*

(w) Evangelical Magazine, vol. xvi. p. 435.
(x) Panoplist, vol. ii. p. 572.

CHAPTER FIFTH.

PROPAGATION OF CHRISTIANITY BY THE DANES.

SECTION I.

East Indies.

SOON after the commencement of the eighteenth century, Frederick the Fourth, king of Denmark, in consequence of the recommendation of the Rev. Dr. Lutkens, one of his chaplains, resolved to make an attempt for the conversion of the Heathen on the coast of Caromandel in the East Indies. Having engaged, with this view, Bartholomew Ziegenbalg and Henry Plutcho, two young men who were educated for the ministry at the university at Halle in Upper Saxony, they embarked at Copenhagen in November 1705, on board the Princess Sophia Hedwig; and, after an agreeable voyage of seven months, they arrived in July 1706 at Tranquebar, the principal town belonging to the Danes in that quarter of the world. *(a)*

In commencing their labours among the Heathen, the missionaries were anxious to lose no time. As a barbarous kind of Portuguese, which had been introduced into India about two centuries before, was now spoken and understood by great numbers of the natives, they had begun to learn that language in the course of the voyage; and so rapid was their progress, that in less than four months after

(a) Niecampii Historia Missionis Evangelicæ in India Orientale, p. 2.

their arrival they were able to carry on a catechetical exercise in it. Encouraged by their proficiency in the Portuguese, they began to direct their attention to the Tamulian, the vernacular language of the country; but here they had greater difficulties to encounter, having at first neither grammar, nor dictionary, nor any of the other usual helps. After trying in vain, a variety of means, they placed themselves under the tuition of a native schoolmaster, who agreed to transfer his school to their house, and to instruct his pupils in their presence. By mixing with the children in the school, they soon learned to write the letters with their fingers in the sand, a method of instruction extremely convenient, as by this means a person learned to read and write at the same time, and thus there was a material saving of labour, expence, and time. But as the schoolmaster did not understand the Portuguese language, he could give them no explanation of the words which they traced in the sand. Having heard, however, of a Malabarian who had been in the service of the Danish East India Company, and who, besides his mother tongue, is said to have understood several of the languages of Europe, they took him into their employ, and enjoyed the advantage of his instructions for upwards of two years; but on this account, he was grievously persecuted by his Pagan countrymen, and was at length carried captive to Tanjore, where he was put in irons and thrown into prison. The king of that country, who was a violent enemy of Christianity, treated him with the utmost rigour, because he was accused of having betrayed their religion, and explained their most secret mysteries to the missionaries at Tranquebar. After some months, indeed, he was released from prison, but he was always obliged to remain in exile, as he every moment dreaded some new insult from his enemies. *(b)*

Besides these helps, the missionaries procured many of the books of the natives, and even some rudiments of a Tamulian

(b) Niecampii Hist. p. 126.

grammar drawn up by a Roman Catholic missionary, together with several other works written in that language by the Papists; and though they were shocked with the absurdities contained in them, yet they derived material assistance from them in acquiring the language, especially as they furnished them with many words which savoured of the Christian style; a circumstance of incalculable importance, as there was no small difficulty in finding terms expressive of the principles of true religion, yet free from the leaven of Heathen superstition. *(c)*

With these slender helps, Ziegenbalg, in the short period of eight months, made such progress in the Tamulian language, that he was able not only to read and write it; but even to speak and to understand it when spoken by others. Still, however, he did not stop short in this necessary study; but continued to pursue it with unwearied diligence. For three years he read almost nothing but Malabar books; he mingled freely with the natives, and laboured to acquire the pronunciation both of the learned and of the vulgar dialect. In elegance of style, he quickly excelled many of the Brahmins themselves; and it is said, he spoke the language as fluently as if he had been born and educated in the country, a circumstance which did not fail to strike the natives with astonishment. Besides a variety of other works relative to the religion, principles, and manners of the Malabarians, he compiled two lexicons of their language, the one consisting of common, the other of such as were styled poetical words. In the former, in compiling which he read upwards of two hundred Tamulian books in the course of two years, there were even at an early period more than twenty thousand words; but they were not as yet digested into regular order: In the latter, there were about seventeen thousand words, arranged under twelve heads, relative to their gods, men, animals, trees, plants, mountains, rivers, towns, &c. Between the vulgar and poetical Malabarick,

(c) Propagation of the Gospel in the East, Part i. p. 67.

Ziegenbalg informs us, there was almost as great a difference, as between the Latin and the Dutch; so that from this, and some other circumstances which he mentions respecting it, we suspect that the latter is no other than the Sungskrit or sacred language of the Hindoos. He afterwards composed a new Tamulian Dictionary, consisting of upwards of forty thousand words, arranged in alphabetical order, and exhibiting at one view the primitive words, together with all their derivatives. He likewise wrote a grammar of the language, in Latin, which was printed at Halle in Saxony. *(d)*

Amidst their various preparations for future labour, the missionaries by no means neglected opportunities of present usefulness, Besides preaching on the Sabbath to the Germans settled in Tranquebar, and holding meetings through the week with such as would attend them, they soon after their arrival instituted a small charity school, for the purpose not only of educating, but of clothing and supporting as many poor children as they were able out of their own salaries; and in order to assist them in instructing them in the principles of religion, they translated Luther's Short Catechism, together with some prayers and hymns, into the Portuguese and Tamulian languages. Plutcho superintended the exercises in Portuguese, while Ziegenbalg conducted those in Tamulian, it having been agreed that they should in this manner divide the labour of the languages between them. *(e)*

The missionaries, however, soon found that the conversion of the natives would be attended with difficulties which, to the eye of sense, appeared perfectly insurmountable. Many persons in Europe, indeed, had represented the attempt as rash and foolish; at Tranquebar it was considered as absurd and impracticable. Besides meeting with many powerful

(d) Niecampii Hist. p. 127, 180.—Propagation of the Gospel, Part ii. p. 10. Part iii. p. 48.

(e) Niecampii Hist. p. 128.—Propagation of the Gospel, Part ii. p. 68.

obstacles from the natural prejudices of education in the natives, the frightful consequences of the loss of cast, the scandalous lives of Christians, and a variety of other circumstances, the missionaries experienced the most determined opposition from the Europeans who were resident in the country, who instead of proving their friends and protectors, behaved as their enemies and persecutors. The hostility they displayed was not only keen but of long continuance, nor was all the authority of the king of Denmark able for some years to suppress it. Edict followed edict in favour of the missionaries; but still their enemies, not excepting even the Danish governor of the city, found means to evade the orders of his Majesty, and to harass them in their labours. *(f)*

But notwithstanding these various obstacles, it was not long before the missionaries beheld their exertions crowned with success. In May 1707, they had the pleasure of baptizing no fewer than five of the natives as the first fruits of their labours among the Heathen. Having now the beginning of a Christian church, they proposed to erect a chapel for public worship in the Portuguese and Tamulian languages. But the pecuniary aid which they expected from Europe failed them precisely at the moment they had the greatest need of it. A ship had lately arrived from Denmark, but brought them neither letters nor supplies. Notwithstanding this circumstance, however, they began the building with what little money they had remaining of their salaries; and though many laughed at their temerity, and held them up to ridicule, yet others applauded their zeal, and even afforded them pecuniary assistance. In the short space of two months from the laying of the foundation, the building was completed, and consecrated by the name of the New Jerusalem Church. Having now a chapel of their own, they instituted public worship in Tamul and

(f) Niecampii Hist. p. 96, &c.—Propagation of the Gospel, part i. p. 32, part iii. p. 18.

Portuguese, agreeably to the form prescribed in the liturgy of the Danish church, which they translated for this purpose into both these languages. *(g)*

Impressed with the importance of educating the native youth, the missionaries now began to extend this branch of their system. Plutcho opened a Portuguese and Danish school in their own house; but the number of scholars increased so rapidly, that it was found necessary to establish two separate schools for these languages, and to employ a European teacher in each of them. Ziegenbalg soon after opened a Tamulian school; but it likewise became necessary to divide it into two, one for the boys and the other for the girls. The latter were placed under the inspection of a widow, and, besides the principles of religion, they were taught to read, write, spin, knit, and other useful domestic employments. Every evening, all the children repeated, in the presence of their teacher, such things as they had learned in the course of the day. On the Saturday they were conducted to the river to bathe themselves agreeably to the general practice of the country; and once a month an examination was held of all the schools. Many of the children were not only educated, but supported by the missionaries; and though the expence greatly exceeded their ordinary income, and often pressed hard upon them, yet God in a remarkable manner supplied their wants, so that they were never obliged to dissolve the schools. *(h)*

Of Ziegenbalg's indefatigable diligence in his labours as a missionary, we have an interesting proof in the following account of the manner in which he usually spent his time, as mentioned in a letter which he wrote to the Rev. Dr. Lutkens in August 1708:—"As for the order in which I fulfil the duties of my office, it is nearly as follows: After

(g) Niecampii Hist. p. 129, 132.—Propagation of the Gospel, Part i. p. 69. *(h)* Niecampii Hist. p. 132.

morning prayer, I explain the Tamulian translation of Luther's Catechism, from six to seven.

" From seven to eight, I repeat the Tamulian words or phrases, which I have committed either to writing or to memory.

" From eight to twelve, I read such Tamulian books as I have never read before, in company with one of their poets, an old man, and a native amanuensis. The poet explains to me the time and other circumstances of the stories I read; or if any thing difficult or obscure occurs in them, he explains it to me. The amanuensis writes down those words and phrases which I have not met with before in the course of my reading. At first I likewise employed an interpreter, but I have no longer any use for him.

" From twelve to one I dine; and during the time of dinner a person is employed in reading to me some part of the Holy Scriptures.

" From one to two, I rest a short time, because in this country nothing can be done immediately after dinner, on account of the oppressiveness of the heat of the sun.

" From two to three, I have a catechetical exercise in my own house.

" From three to five, I again read Tamulian books.

" From five to six, we engage in prayer together. After this exercise, we mention to each other such circumstances as may have occurred in the course of the day, either in our own house or among those under our care. We also consult together respecting the most eligible means for carrying on our work with success.

" From half past six to eight, I have Tamulian books read to me by a native amanuensis, because I am prohibited from reading much by candle light. At this time, those books in particular are read to me, the style of which I wish to imitate in my discourses and writings. With this view, the same author is sometimes read to me, perhaps a hundred times, until there is no word or phrase in the work

of which I am ignorant, or which I cannot imitate. This exercise is the mean of rendering my knowledge of the language both extensive and correct.

"From eight to nine I take supper, during, which some part of the Holy Scriptures are again read to me. Afterwards I hold a short examination of the children and domestics, as well as of myself, concerning the work of the day; and then I conclude the whole of my labours with singing and prayer.

"Such is a short account of the ordinary manner in which I spend my time; but on those days on which we have public worship, this order is necessarily interrupted. Indeed, I am visited almost every day both by Tamulians and Mahommedans, who wish to converse with me. Some of them come from a great distance for this purpose, and these visits I return when I conveniently can. Besides this, I often take a walk into the neighbouring towns and villages, in order to view the schools of the Pagans. Wherever I go, I am crowded by the natives, to whom I discourse about the way of salvation." *(i)*

While the missionaries, in this manner, pursued their evangelical labours with indefatigable diligence, they were not without their trials, particularly from the want of pecuniary support. The first subsidy of two thousand Imperial pieces which was sent them from Europe, was lost in the sea near Tranquebar. The mission was now so enlarged, that forty or fifty Imperial pieces were required for its support every month; but where to raise so large a sum, the missionaries could not tell. They were ready to bear the greatest privations themselves; but they could not endure the thought of their children and domestics suffering want. But while they were harassed with these painful apprehensions, they providentially obtained a supply of money. A person from whom one would least of all have expected it, offered them

(i) Niecampii Hist. p. 139.—Propagation of the Gospel, part ii. p. 3.

forty Imperial pieces to keep in trust for them until the arrival of the ships from Europe ; and when this sum was expended, others offered them two hundred Imperials on similar conditions. At length, in July 1709, when they had scarcely two oboli left, a ship arrived from Europe which brought them a large supply of money from Denmark and Germany, and also of books and medicines from the Orphan House at Halle, in Saxony. The governor of Tranquebar likewise received orders from his Majesty, expressed in the strongest language, to assist the missionaries in their benevolent labours to the utmost of his ability. But what most of all rejoiced their hearts, was the arrival of three other missionaries to assist them, John Ernest Grundler, John George Bœving, and Polycarp Jordan. On meeting together, they embraced each other in the most affectionate manner ; and when the new missionaries approached the house of their brethren, they were saluted by some of the converts in the eastern manner. On beholding these poor sheep, who, with their excellent pastors, had suffered, so many trials and hardships, Grundler was so much affected, that he could not refrain from weeping. *(k)*

Though the mission had many enemies in Denmark as well as in India, yet his Majesty continued to be its warmest friend, and to provide for its support in the most liberal manner. He publicly declared his high displeasure at the opposion which the missionaries had hitherto experienced ; he commanded an enquiry to be made into the causes of that hostility ; and notwithstanding the calamitous situation of the country about this period, in consequence of the war with Sweden, he graciously assigned the mission two thousand Imperial pieces a year out of the revenue of the post-office, and ordained that it should be allowed in future by all his successors, and never on any account be withdrawn. The footsteps of Providence for the support of the mission, were no less conspicuous in England, and in other places. The

(k) Niecampii Hist. p. 140, 143.

Society for promoting Christian Knowledge, which was established a few years before in London, came forward with alacrity and zeal in the cause; and ever since that period, has been a principal instrument of supporting and extending the undertaking. So strong a sensation was excited in the minds of the people, that large contributions were raised in different parts of the country in support of the mission, particularly for maintaining the schools, and for printing the New Testament in the Portuguese language. As the missionaries had often complained of the great trouble and expence they were at in getting books transcribed for the schools and distribution among the natives, the society sent them a printing press, together with a fount of Roman and Italic characters, and a quantity of paper; and as the Gospel according to Matthew was printed before the sailing of the fleet, they also forwarded two hundred and fifty copies of it as a present to the children in the school. Besides these valuable articles, they sent out a Mr. J. Finck, who had learned the art of printing, to superintend that important operation; and the English East India Company not only granted a free passage to him and to whatever goods were designed for the mission, but sent orders to their governors in India to protect and countenance the missionaries; and they likewise offered their assistance for carrying on a more regular correspondence between Europe and that country. The vessel in which these articles were shipped, arrived in safety at the port of Rio Janeiro, on the coast of Brazil, but while it remained at that place, a French squadron arrived and captured the town, and all the vessels that were in the harbour. Happily, however, she was redeemed for a certain sum of money, and proceeded on her voyage; but before she reached the Cape of Good Hope, Finck was seized with a fever and died. The press, the types, and the paper, went forward in safety to Tranquebar; but the copies of the Gospel by Matthew, and some impressions of Arndt's True Christianity, were lost. The loss, however, was easily borne, as the French had distributed them among the Portuguese

inhabitants of the Brazils, many of whom had scarcely seen any thing of the kind before; and indeed it was soon made up, as in a very short time the society sent to the missionaries upwards of two hundred copies of the whole New Testament in Portuguese, which was now finished, together with various books, and mathematical instruments, and £100 sterling. *(l)*

Having now a press of their own, the missionaries at Tranquebar engaged a printer named John Henry Schlœricke, in the room of Finck, who had died on his passage. The first works which they printed, were a small treatise on the Method of Salvation, and an elementary book in the Portuguese language. Meanwhile a fount of types, in the Tamul language, had been cast at Halle, in Saxony, according to a specimen sent by the missionaries from India, and it was now forwarded to Tranquebar by the ships of the East India Company, together with three assistants for the mission, John Berlin as a schoolmaster, and John Theophilus Adler, and his brother, a youth of fourteen years of age, both of whom had learned the art of printing. Thus the missionaries were completely furnished with that powerful engine for the dissemination of Christian Knowledge, a printing press, together with a fount of types in the two principal languages, which were spoken in that part of the country. From this period, vast quantities of books were every year published by them, and circulated among the natives, who not only received them with great avidity, but read them to their neighbours, and held conversations concerning them both among themselves and the missionaries, so that a general stir was excited in the country about religion. Some malicious persons, indeed, endeavoured to stop this important part of their operations, under the pretence that, according to law, the missionaries had no right to print any work until it had passed through the hands of the censor. But his

(l) Niecampii Hist. pp. 154, 158.—Propagation of the Gospel, part iii. p. 33, part i. Prelim. Disc. xxxvi.

Majesty the king of Denmark soon settled this point, by transmitting orders to the governor and council at Tranquebar, to allow the missionaries to publish whatever books they should judge necessary, for promoting Christianity among the natives. *(m)*

In October 1714, Ziegenbalg undertook a voyage to Europe, not however with the view of remaining at home, but in order, if possible, to obtain the removal of those impediments, which were still thrown in their way by the enemies of the mission, and also to make some proposals for the further extension of the undertaking. Previous to his departure, the governor and council of Tranquebar made up matters with the missionaries, on condition that their past conduct should be forgotten; and thus a period was happily put to those daily vexations, which they had suffered from that quarter ever since the commencement of the mission. When Ziegenbalg set off, the whole congregation accompanied him to the ship, and besought him, with many tears, to hasten back to them; even many of the Pagans appeared exceedingly vexed at his departure. During the voyage he was not idle, but, with his usual diligence and zeal, employed himself in various important labours connected with the work of the mission. Having as length arrived safe at Bergen in Norway, he hastened from thence to Stralsund in Pomerania, where the king of Denmark was then encamped, and was most graciously received by his Majesty. He next travelled to Copenhagen, where he met with a most cordial reception from the Royal Family, and was loaded by them, as well as by other friends of the mission, with many valuable presents. From thence he proceeded to Halle, in Saxony, and on the way, he was treated with much attention and respect by all ranks of people, from the highest to the lowest. His Serene Highness the duke of Wurtenberg, ordered a contribution to be made for the mission throughout the whole of his dominions. During his stay in Germany, Ziegenbalg entered into

(m) Niccampii. Hist. p. 162, 170, 173.

the married state, after which he came over to England, where he was received with the greatest kindness and respect, by the Society not only for promoting Christian Knowledge, but by all ranks of people. He was honoured with an audience by his Majesty George I. and by other members of the Royal Family; and the Archbishop of Canterbury, Dr. Wake, together with the Bishop of London, promised to afford the mission their utmost assistance and support. Having now succeeded in his visit to Europe far beyond his most sanguine expectations, he hastened back to India, and, after a voyage of between five and six months, arrived in safety at Tranquebar. *(n)*

In the meanwhile, the work of the mission had been carried on by Grundler and his associates with their usual zeal, and not without considerable success. They were obliged, indeed, to discontinue their journeys through the country, on account of smallness of their number, and their various other engagements; but they were visited by many of the natives, both Pagans and Mahommedans, and thus had frequent opportunities of instructing them in the principles of religion. Some of the Tamulians, indeed, displayed the most violent enmity against the gospel, and against those who embraced it. They spared neither labour nor expence, to hinder their friends and relations from becoming Christians, though previously they had not manifested the smallest regard to them. In some instances, they even proceeded to acts of violence. One day, as a man from the town of Poreiar was going to church, some of his countrymen fell upon him, and, after beating him most severely, carried him prisoner into the dominions of the king of Tanjore. Even in Tranquebar itself, the Pagans bound one of the catechumens; but they were soon obliged to set him at liberty by an order from the magistrate. *(o)*

(n) Niecampii Hist. p. 177, 180, 184, 190, 195.
(o) Ibid. p. 181.

The translation of the Holy Scriptures into the Tamul language, was an object on which the heart of Ziegenbalg had been early fixed; but lest he should produce an inaccurate version, he delayed entering on this important undertaking, until he was able to write the language with elegance and correctness. Upwards of two years, therefore, elapsed after his arrival in India, before he began this work; and notwithstanding the many difficulties which attended the attempt, he was so happy as to finish the translation of the New Testament, after the labour of about two years and a half. Various circumstances, however, contributed to delay the publication of it for several years longer, among which was the advice of his friends in Europe to review it carefully, before he put it to the press; but now at length during his absence, the printing of it was completed by his fellow missionaries. *(p)*

In a letter from the Rev. Mr. Stevenson, the English chaplain at Madras, written in February 1716, we have the following pleasing account of the state of the mission about that period. "I have been at Tranquebar," says he, "where I spent three days with great satisfaction. On Sunday, I heard Mr. Grundler preach to the Malabarian converts in their own language; and Mr. Berlin gave an useful earnest lecture in Portuguese. The people seemed far more attentive, serious, and composed in their behaviour, than our European congregations generally are. The children whom I heard catechised in Portuguese, have juster notions of religion, and are greater proficients in true Christian Knowledge, than those of a more advanced age among us. I have no time to enlarge on the order and good discipline that are kept up in the three schools, nor on the successful labours of the missionaries. The governor, and the Danish minister at Tranquebar, gave Mr. Grundler an extraordinary character, and confirm the good opinion I have always had of him. He is a man of great probity, sobriety, prudence, and every

(p) Niecampii Hist. p. 141, 153, 182.

good quality necessary to render him capable of carrying on the work of the mission. Mr. Berlin is also a very pious diligent youth, and seems to have a genius for languages. He made so great progress in the Portuguese, that in one year he was master of it, and now preaches in it with great ease and fluency. As for Mr. Alder, he is an artist so useful and ingenious, that he deserves the greatest encouragement. I saw the paper-mill he is now making; it is in great forwardness, and will be finished in a few months." *(q)*

As they were much in want of persons to assist them in their labours, the missionaries, soon after the return Ziegenbalg, instituted a seminary for the education of some of the Tamulian boys, as catechists and schoolmasters. This plan succeeded so well, that they were able, in a short time, to select four of these youths, to assist them in the mission. *(r)* This was an object which lay near their heart; and some years before, they had made a proposal for the institution of a seminary of this kind on an extensive scale. "We earnestly wish," say they, "that a seminary for the education of missionaries were erected in India, where they might learn those languages which they would have occasion to use in the discharge of their office. The principal languages by which the propagation of the gospel of Christ may at present be promoted, are the Portuguese, Tamul, Malay, Peguan, Gentoo, Wardick, Armenian, and the language called Kerendum. Out of this seminary should be sent missionaries to Bengal, to Bombay, to the kingdom of Pegu, to Cuddalore, to Fort St. David's, to Armenia, and other places. These missionaries should go forth as ordained ministers of the gospel, and each of them may take with him one or more of the scholars educated by us, to the places appointed for him. We have been surprised, when on several occasions, we have in our journies taken with us one or two of the scholars out of the school, to find how much this hath

(q) Christian Observer, vol. x. p. 139.
(r) Niecampii Hist. p. 206.

contributed to the conversion of souls both among Heathens and Christians." *(s)* Such were the enlarged views of the missionaries with regard to the propagation of the gospel in the world. What a pity it is, that so little of this noble plan has been executed, though a century has elapsed since it was originally proposed!

The missionaries, as may easily be supposed, carried on an extensive correspondence with their friends in Europe, and they had even the honour of receiving letters from Frederick IV. king of Denmark, Christian the Prince Royal, and the heir of the crown, Caroline Amelia, one of the Princesses, the Duke of Saxe Meinung, George I. king of England, Dr. Wake, Archbishop of Canterbury, and other distinguished personages. *(t)* It may not be uninteresting to insert in this place the following letter, which they wrote to the king of England, in reply to one which they had received from him, as it contains a general view of the state of the mission about this period.

"Your Majesty's most gracious letter we received with the greatest joy imaginable, and were highly comforted and quickened in our zeal for the glory of Almighty God, when we read these your Majesty's most gracious expressions: 'As we shall be always well pleased to hear of the happy success and progress of this work, so we shall, at a proper season, be found ready to assist you in what shall tend to the promotion of this affair, and your encouragement.' Your Majesty hereby most graciously allows us to make a further report of the state of our affairs, and we thence conceive joyful hopes, that your Majesty will add to the glorious title of defender of the faith, the noble character of its zealous promoter, not only by supporting the reign of Jesus Christ in your own dominions, but also by promoting and extending it among the Heathens and Infidels in the most remote parts of the world. Therefore, after having heartily

(s) Christian Observer, vol. ix. p. 666.

(t) Niecamp. Hist. p. 178, 212, 214, 242, 249, 256, 269, 284.

thanked God Almighty for inclining your Majesty's heart toward so holy a design, and, with the profoundest submission, acknowledged your Majesty's high favour toward us your unworthy servants, may it please your Majesty to accept of the following account of the state of that work in which we are employed.

"We, the missionaries, on our part, are endeavouring, according to the measure of the grace God Almighty has imparted to us, plentifully to spread abroad the seed of the word of God among the Heathens in their own language, there being no other means for touching the hearts of Heathens, in order to their conversion. We also maintain Indians to assist us as catechists, for which function we first prepare them, by instructing them in the saving faith of Jesus Christ, and then send them to propagate it among the Heathens. To such places, whither the instruction of the gospel by word of mouth cannot reach, we send our printed Malabarian books, which are read in these parts by many of all sorts and degrees. As we are perfectly sensible, that to promote and perpetuate such an undertaking, a solid foundation must be laid, by translating the Holy Scriptures, and publishing other instructive books in the language of the country, we did a good while ago finish and publish a translation of the New Testament, and are now labouring, with great application, in translating the Old Testament into the Malabarian and Portuguese languages. Besides, we compose every year some books for instructing the Heathens, containing the fundamentals of the Christian religion; for better publication of which, the printing-press we have received from our benefactors in England is of great use to us. That our printing-press may always be provided with a sufficient quantity of letters, we entertain in the mission persons for cutting moulds, and casting letters, as also for binding books, being furnished every year with the necessary tools and materials from England, by the laudable Society for propagating Christian Knowledge. To supply the want of paper, we have been at great expence in erecting a paper-mill here.

And so under the invocation of the name of God, we plentifully dispense, both by word of mouth and writing, in this Heathen country, the gospel, which makes a happy impression on the minds of many of the inhabitants. Some, indeed, particularly their Brahmins or priests, gainsay and scoff; others come to a sense of the abominations of idolatry, and leave off worshipping their idols; others are brought to better principles, and shew, in their discourse and writing, that they have got a greater light than their forefathers; others again give full assent to all the truths of Christianity, but, out of worldly considerations, wave baptism and the name of Christians. But some break through all difficulties, and, subduing their reason to the obedience of faith, resolutely profess Christianity: these are for some time instructed by us and our catechists, and afterwards, when they give true signs of repentance and conversion, are received into the bosom of the Christian church by holy baptism. These who are become members of our congregation, we are instructing with all diligence, that Jesus Christ may be formed within them. Our private exercises with them are daily catechisings, by sending our catechists to their habitations, to enquire into their way of life, to examine them upon the catechism, to pray with them, and to make a report to us, the missionaries, of what passess among them. To exercise them in praying, we have set hours thrice a week, in which prayers are read to them in private. We give free occasion to every one of them, to communicate to us their concerns. Our public exercises consist in preaching to them, every Sunday in the morning, a sermon in the Malabarian language, and another in the Portuguese, and in the afternoon we catechise in both languages. Besides, we preach a sermon in the High Dutch for the Europeans; every Wednesday, we catechise at church in Portuguese; and every Friday in Malabarian. As to the children of either sex that belong to our congregation, we instruct them all in our schools in the principles of Christianity, reading, writing, and other useful knowledge: they are maintained in every

thing at our charge. We have erected a seminary for such as we design for the service of the gospel, to be furnished thence with proper catechists, preceptors, and clerks. Such boys as want necessary capacity, we put to learn handy-crafts. We have also established schools, one in this town, and another in a populous village not far off, where they are instructed by Christian tutors, and have full allowance, except victuals and clothes, which their parents find them. The Lord having so blessed our labours, that the new congregation increases every year, the first church which we built became too narrow, upon which we found it necessary to build one more spacious; and it pleased God to furnish us with means to finish it in two years time, and we are now constantly preaching in it in three languages. We have likewise, at the desire of the English who live on this coast, erected two schools, one at Fort St. George, and another at Fort St. David. The present governor of Fort St. George is a special friend to the mission, and has lately remitted to it a considerable present. The rest of our friends here have cheerfully supplied our wants this year, The Lord, whose work it is, guide us for the future by his Divine Providence, and stir up in Europe many promoters among persons of all ranks, that, in these last times, the salvation of the Heathens may be sought with earnestness, and their conversion promoted by the whole Christian church. That our most merciful God may crown your Majesty with all prosperity, is the prayer of your Majesty's, &c."

Tranquebar, November, 24th, 1718. } BARTHOLOMEW ZIEGENBALG. JOHN ERNEST GRUNDLER. *(u)*

In the meanwhile, Ziegenbalg, who had the honour of originally establishing the mission, was attacked by that disorder which at length brought him to the grave. About six months before his death, he was seized with excruciating pains in his bowels, and with a troublesome cough; but

(u) Millar's History of the Propagation of Christianity, vol. ii.

notwithstanding these distressing complaints, he did not desist from the ordinary duties of his office. By degrees he became extremely weak, and was much afflicted by a hypochondriac disorder, which had affected him even before he left Europe; yet still he continued to labour, as far as his strength would permit, in translating the Old Testament into the Tamulian language. For a short time before his death he seemed somewhat better, and on the very day he died, he rose early in the morning, and united with his wife in prayer to God. But he quickly grew worse, and about nine o'clock the symptoms of his approaching dissolution were perfectly visible. When Grundler suggested to him, that the apostle of the Gentiles desired "to depart, and to be with Christ, which was far better," he replied with a feeble voice: "Truly, that also is my desire. May God grant, that being washed from my sins in the blood of the Redeemer, and clothed with his righteousness, I may pass from this world to his heavenly kingdom." When he was in the agonies of death, he was reminded of the following words of the same apostle: "I have fought a good fight, I have finished my course, I have kept the faith: Henceforth there is laid up for me a crown of righteousness, which the Lord, the righteous Judge will give unto me at that day; and not to me only, but unto all them also that love his appearing." To this he answered: "I will persevere in this contest through Jesus Christ, that I also may obtain that glorious crown." Shortly after he said: "I am scarcely able to speak more. May God render what I have spoken useful. I have daily committed myself to the will of God. Christ says, 'Where I am, there also shall my servant be.'" Having said this, he intimated that the light was offensive to his eyes, for the rays of the sun fell directly upon his face, and he requested, that the hymn beginning with these words, "Jesus, my Saviour Lord," might be sung in concert with the harp. When this was ended, he desired to be placed in an arm-chair, and immediately after he breathed his last, February 23, 1719, about eleven o'clock

in the forenoon, amidst the prayers, the tears, and the groans of the spectators. *(v)*

Thus died Bartholomew Ziegenbalg in the thirty-sixth year of his age, a man who possesed, in no ordinary degree, those qualifications, which exalt and adorn the character of a Christian missionary. Sincerity zeal, and indefatigability, in propagating the gospel among the Heathen, shine conspicuous through the whole of his conduct. No service appeared to him too arduous, no sacrifice too great, if it might contribute to his noble end. His numerous trials, instead of shaking his resolution, only confirmed him in his purpose of living and dying a missionary among the Heathen. Amidst accumulated cares and labours, he preserved the most singular equinimity; his mind was always serene and tranquil, a circumstance which rendered his intercourse with others highly agreeable. With these qualifications, were combined respectable talents, singular prudence, and a happy turn for the acquisition of languages. His discourses were judicious and affectionate; his patience in instructing the Pagans was invincible; his love toward them was so pure and fervent, that it kindled a corresponding affection in their breast, and disposed them to receive his instructions with a ready mind. Such indeed was the attachment of the natives to him, that the Pagans, as well as the Christians, bewailed his death with many tears. *(w)*

In the mean while, Benjamin Schultze, Nicholas Dal, and John Henry Kistenmacher, three new missionaries, had embarked for India, and though on landing they were deeply affected to hear of the death of Ziegenbalg, yet their arrival was a sourse of no less consolation to Grundler. After the loss of his beloved colleague, he was for two months in so weak a state of health, that in conducting public worship, he was obliged to sit in the pulpit. It was truly affecting to hear him supplicating God with

(v) Niecampii Hist. p. 217. *(w)* Ibid. p. 218.

many tears, not to afflict the little flock which they had gathered from among the Heathen, by depriving them of both their pastors, before other missionaries should arrive in the country and be prepared for the work. His prayers were heard, and answered. Accordingly, upon the arrival of the new missionaries, he was at particular pains to prepare them for entering upon their labours among the Heathen. *(x)*

Having accomplished this object to a certain extent, he was soon called to follow his departed colleague to the grave. He recovered, indeed, from his late indisposition, but he was soon after seized with a flux, which never afterwards left him. As, however, it was not violent, he still pursued his usual labours, and even proposed undertaking a journey into the Mogul empire. Having experienced a remission of his disorder for a few days he was unwilling to lose the opportunity of going by sea to Cuddalore, for the sake of saving expence; and then he designed to proceed further into the country, and to preach the gospel among the Pagan inhabitants. No person could witness his departure without shedding tears; for it was obvious to every one that a voyage promised no advantage to his health, already so debilitated by disease. Unfortunately, the event shewed that their apprehensions were not without foundation. Having contracted cold by the way, he was soon obliged to return to Tranquebar. From that time, his disorder continued to increase, and to consume what little strength he still possessed. His whole soul seemed now absorbed in the contemplation of eternal things, and after lingering for a few weeks longer, he died, March 19, 1720, in the forty-third year of his age; and on the following day his mortal remains were committed to the dust close to the ashes of his departed colleague. *(y)*

(x) Niecampii. Hist. p. 213, 220.

(y) Ibid. p. 221.

Thus, within little more than a twelvemonth, the mission lost its two principal pillars in the eastern world. Both Ziegenbalg and Grundler were men admirably qualified for the important station in which Providence had placed them; yet they were taken away at a time when their continuance seemed of peculiar importance, and promised the most extensive usefulness. These severe and successive blows threatened the very extinction of the mission, and afforded the enemies of the undertaking, a signal yet temporary triumph. The Roman Catholics in India pleased themselves with the hope, that the Danish mission was now at an end; and even among the Protestants in Europe, there were not wanting some who held similar language. By the false reports which they industriously circulated concerning the failure of the undertaking, they even succeeded, to a certain extent, in diminishing its pecuniary resources, and by this means involved it in considerable difficulties. *(z)*

Meanwhile, however, Schultze and his fellow missionaries endeavoured to encourage themselves by faith in God; and notwithstanding the many difficulties they had to encounter, they resolved to stand firm by their post. Indeed, though the circumstances under which they entered on their labours were so extremely unfavourable, yet the mission, instead o declining in their hands, was not only continued, but extended by them. In this work, Schultze particularly distinguished himself. On account of the small number of the missionaries, he was at first under the necessity of giving up the practice of making journies into different parts of the country and preaching the gospel to the inhabitants, but after a year or two, he was again able to resume it. He was obliged, indeed, for some time, to confine his visits to the towns and villages within the Danish territory, and to some places in the kingdom of Tanjore immediately adjacent to them; and indeed, in this narrow circuit, there was so ample a field

(z) Niecampii Hist. p. 223.

for preaching the gospel to the Heathen, that he could scarcely go once a month to each of them. On these occasions, he often had a congregation of between two and three hundred hearers; and after delivering a short sermon to them, he and the catechists who accompanied him used to enter into conversation with the people on the subject of his discourse. *(a)*

As the poor people about Tranquebar, Catholics, Pagans, and Mahommedans, to the number of sixty and upwards, were accustomed to assemble every Saturday before the mission house and to receive alms, Schultze thought it advisable to address to them some short discourse adapted to their situation and circumstances, and he afterwards ordered a chapter of the Bible to be read to them. *(b)*

In order still further to pave the way for the conversion of the Pagans to the Christian faith, Schultze resolved to increase the number of schools for the education of children. Having purchased a new building for a paper-mill, he resolved to convert the old one into a school-house; and the governor, about the same time, published an order that all the inhabitants of the Danish territory should have their children instructed in reading, writing, and arithmetic. As this regulation was much relished by the people, the missionaries offered to take upon them the inspection of the schools. The same plan of education was adopted both in the new school begun in the mission premises, and in some of those which were erected by desire of the Pagans in the neighbourhood of Tranquebar. The children were furnished by the missionaries with books, styles, and oles, free of expence; and besides being instructed in reading, writing, and arithmetic, they read in the morning a portion of the New Testament; for other two hours, they learned the catechism, and some short Christian sayings; and on the Lord's day, they likewise read books of a religious nature. By these means, the schools were, in a short time increased

(a) Niecamp. Hist. p. 231. *(b)* Ibid. p. 232.

from five to twenty-one; and though only four of these contained Christian children, while the other seventeen consisted entirely of Pagan and Mahommedan children, yet they were all under the inspection of the missionaries, who appointed two catechists to visit them regularly. The whole number of youth attending these schools, amounted, at the examination held in October 1725, to no fewer than five hundred and seventy-five; and though these children did not immediately embrace Christianity, yet the missionaries hoped by this means to diminish their prejudices against the gospel and its professors, and to promote among them the knowledge of its sacred principles. So many difficulties, however, arose with regard to the management of these schools, that in about two years it was found necessary to withdraw the salary of seven of the Pagan teachers. *(c)*

Ziegenbalg having translated the Old Testament only the length of Ruth, Schultze had been employed for some time in completing this important work. Besides, having recourse to the Hebrew originals, and to the German translation of Luther, he was able to make use of the Spanish, Italian, French, Danish, and Dutch versions, as well as of other useful books; and he likewise enjoyed the assistance of a learned Brahmin and of certain Tamulian scribes, some of whom understood the German and Portuguese languages. To this work he usually devoted six hours a day; and at length, after about two years assiduous study, he was so happy as to finish the translation of the whole of the Old Testament, and also of the Apocrypha, which certainly had better been spared. The joy which the converts expressed at having the whole Bible in their own language, amply compensated him for all the labour and toil he had employed upon it. Indeed, while he was engaged in this work, he enjoyed so much pleasure in studying the Holy Scriptures, that his soul daily fed, as it

(c) Niecamp. Hist. pp. 253, 285.

were, in green pastures. Before, however, he sent it to the press, he not only revised it again himself along with a Tamulian scribe, but submitted it to the revision of the other missionaries, with the view of rendering it as correct as possible. It was printed in three parts, the last of which, containing the prophetical writings was finished in 1727, and it was followed the next year by the Apocryphal books. The circulation of the works which the missionaries printed, was not confined to the immediate scene of their labours. Some were sent as far as the Cape of Good Hope, some to Bombay, some to Ceylon and other places. *(d)*

The missionaries had long been anxious to carry the gospel beyond the Danish territories; but hitherto they had been able to effect little in this respect. Schultze, however, now resolved that the attempt should be delayed no longer. Previous to the publication of the Old Testament, he proceeded by sea to Cuddalore, and was received in the most cordial manner by the governor and other friends of the mission in that town. Here he enjoyed frequent opportunities, both by preaching and conversation, of disseminating among the Pagans and Mahommedans the seed of evangelical truth. He also visited the native schools in the town and the neighbouring villages, and he appointed the scholars some task to learn, which they not only committed to memory, but used to follow him wherever he went. In Porto Novo, Sedambaram, and other places through which he passed, he pursued a similar plan, every where endeavouring to extend the knowledge of Christ Jesus. At length, he arrived at Madras. In this city, and in the neighbouring country, he laboured with unwearied diligence in promoting the interests of religion, both among Pagans and Christians. Once when he undertook a short journey into Mogul empire, he was soon obliged to return, as before he had proceeded far he learned that the Mahommedans intended to intercept him, and to carry him to Arcadu.

(d) Niecamp. Hist. pp. 234, 255, 287, 311, 288.

Short, however, as was this journey, it was attended with considerable difficulties. He was not only in danger from the tygers which roamed abroad in quest of prey, and which in that very district had lately torn to pieces a man and some of the inferior animals, but he was obliged to prosecute his journey barefooted, during the night under a perpetual rain. In consequence of these circumstances, his feet were dreadfully beaten and very bloody; and after his return to Madras, he was ill for some time. In the course of these various journies, much of which he performed on foot, he preached the gospel in upwards of a hundred new places; and during his stay at Madras, he re-established a school which had been begun by Mr. Stevenson, the English chaplain of that settlement, and was afterwards given up. *(e)*

Encouraged by the prospect of success in Madras, Schultze settled in that city with the view of establishing a mission in that part of the country; and he was soon after taken under the immediate patronage of the Society in London for promoting Christian Knowledge. The attempt was attended with many difficulties; but yet it was not long before he succeeded in converting a number of the natives to the faith of the gospel, and in forming them into a church of Christ. So early as 1728, the number of the baptized amounted to seventeen; and in the following year, they were augmented by no fewer than a hundred and forty. Afterwards, indeed, the increase was not so rapid, but yet it continued to be considerable. Numbers of the converts had previously been Roman Catholics, a circumstance which mightily enraged the Popish priests against the mission. Some who resided at St. Thomas' Mount proceeded to such extremities, that they rushed violently on one of the congregation, and after beating him severely, designed to carry him bound to Goa, and deliver him into the hands of the Inquisition. But the governor of the place, though a Mahommedan, took the part of the poor man, and ordered his

(e) Niecamp. Hist. p. 278.

persecutors to be punished. On another occasion, some of the Catholics beat one of the converts most unmercifully, assigning this ridiculous reason for their conduct, that he was of the religion of the Turks. The missionaries advised the catechists not to enter into disputes with the Papists on controverted points of religion, but to content themselves with stating the simple truth, that so they might afford them as little occasion as possible for their enmity. But though the catechists acted, in this respect with the utmost prudence and moderation, the Papists continued to display the same rancour as ever against them. *(f)* Besides preaching no less than four times on the Lord's day, in the Tamulian, the Telinga, and the Portuguese languages, Schultze translated the whole of the Old and New Testament, and the Apocrypha, into Telinga; but it does not appear that this work was ever printed. He also wrote a grammar of the language and some small tracts in it, though it is said they are rather of an inferior order. *(g)*

In the meanwhile, the way was preparing for the introduction of Christianity into the kingdom of Tanjore, through the instrumentality of a native of that country, named Rajanaiken. The grandfather of this young man had been a convert to the Church of Rome, and in consequence of this, he himself was baptized in his infancy. Animated by an ardent thirst for knowledge, he learned to read in the twenty-second year of his age, and afterwards employed himself in perusing such Roman Catholic books as happened to fall in his way. A meditation which he met with on the sufferings and death of Christ, was the mean of convincing him of his sinfulness, and impressing him with a sense of his misery. Happening to see a copy of the Four Evangelists and the Acts of the Apostles in the hands of a Roman Catholic pandaram, he was so happy

(f) Niecamp. Hist. p. 280. 296, 312, 320.

(g) Ibid. p. 295, 365. Præf. 15. Transaction of the Missionary Society, vol. ii. p. 434.

at finding this treasure, that he prevailed upon him by promises and presents to grant him the loan of it. In reading it, Rajanaiken was so delighted that he spent the whole day, and even a great part of the night, in this sacred employment. When he had finished it, he thought with himself, that perhaps the pandaram might soon come back and demand it from him. In proportion to the joy he had experienced in obtaining such a treasure, was the solicitude he now felt not to lose it; and therefore he resolved to write a copy of the whole: but when he had got near to the end of Luke, as he was not accustomed to writing, he became tired, and as the pandaram did not return he desisted from the laborious attempt. *(h)*

After a lapse of about two years he came to hear of the missionaries at Tranquebar, and obtained from them more correct views of divine truth than he possessed before. Having been sent into the Danish territory with some soldiers to guard the crop from the ravages of depredators, he there found a Roman Catholic Christian reading to some people a letter printed at Tranquebar, for the sake of obtaining charity. Having purchased it from him, he learned that he had received it from some German priests who differed in this from the Popish priests, that they did not worship the Virgin Mary. Desirous of knowing on which side the truth lay, he asked the man to obtain for him some more books, and to procure him an introduction to these new priests. The fellow, however, perfidiously suppressed the latter part of his commission, in the hope of gaining more money from him; and therefore Rajanaiken at length wrote to the missionaries himself, who, agreeably to his desire, immediately sent him the Larger Catechism, the whole of the New Testament, and two parts of the Old, with some short advice how to read the Holy Scriptures with understanding and advantage. After receiving these, he went to Tranquebar, together with his two brothers, in

(h) Niecamp. Hist. p. 289.

order to spend the Lord's day, and to propose various doubts to the missionaries. Having obtained a satisfactory answer to his questions, he was perfectly convinced, by degrees, of the errors of Popery; he even laboured to employ what knowledge he had acquired, and the books he had received for instructing his countrymen. both Pagans and Roman Catholics; and in some instances his exertions were not without effect. *(i)*

Influenced by the example of Rajanaiken, a Roman Catholic catechist in the kingdom of Tanjore, named Surrapp, sent his son, Sattianaden, to Tranquebar with letters to the missionaries; and in the meanwhile he himself was busy in collecting in his own town some of the Pagans into a church, though the Popish priests pursued him with the heaviest threatenings and at length excluded him from their communion, and laid him under a sentence of excommunication. Sattianaden afterwards brought a number of the converts to Tranquebar to be baptized; and as he had frequently offered his assistance in propagating the gospel in the kingdom of Tanjore, the missionaries could no longer hesitate to receive him into their service, and to appoint him the catechist of the little flock he had gathered from among the Heathen. Alarmed by these circumstances, the Roman Catholics had recourse to still more violent measures, in order to stop the progress of the contagion. They so molested Surrapp, that they at length prevailed on him to return to the bosom of the church. Out of hatred to Sattianaden, they refused burial to his grandmother, though she had never professed the Protestant religion. More catechists were appointed in that part of the country, who not only studied, by the most artful methods, to alienate the hearts of the young converts, but endeavoured to irritate their Pagan countrymen against them, saying, they had received the law of Europeans and the religion of Pariars,

(i) Niecamp. Hist p. 290.

and therefore ought not to be tolerated among honest men. *(k)*

Rajanaiken, on his return to Tanjore, likewise sought opportunities, both in the camp and in other places, to make the gospel known among his countrymen; and it was not long before he was so happy, as to convince some of the Roman Catholic persuasion of the truth of the Protestant faith, particularly two inferior officers. Several of the Popish catechists entered into disputation with him; but he so confounded them by arguments drawn from the Holy Scriptures, that they could not answer him a word. He now resolved to leave the army, and to devote his life to the service of the mission, though it was attended with temporal loss to himself. Happy to obtain so valuable an instrument for spreading the gospel in the kingdom of Tanjore, the missionaries gladly accepted of the offer, and appointed him catechist in that part of the country, with a brother of his own as his assistant. The Roman Catholics now became more violent than ever in their opposition to him. One of their missionaries, by means of his catechists, collected together the inhabitants of eighteen villages, for the purpose of destroying his house. Besides endeavouring to frustrate his labours by other means, they sent letters to various places in the kingdom of Tanjore, and in Madura, full of false and absurd accusations against the reformer Luther; and they ordered, that if Rajanaiken came thither, the inhabitants should drive him away with cudgels as an heretic. *(l)* Under certain pretences, they endeavoured to deprive him and his relations of some property which belonged to them, offering, however, to leave them in the peaceable possession of it, if he would only return to the bosom of the Catholic church. *(m)* As this, however, was a condition to which he would by no means consent, they flocked to the house of his parents, who had likewise embraced the Protestant faith,

(k) Niecamp. Hist. p. 292. *(l)* Ibid. p. 302.
(m) Ibid. p. 329.

and broke into it with such violence, that his brother was wounded in the assault, and his father, an old man, attempting to deliver him out of their hands, was so severely beaten by the ruffians, that he died about two hours after. *(n)* Attempts, indeed, were often made on the life of Rajanaiken. One night, two assassins were sent to murder him in his own house, but having, in climbing into it, slightly wounded a man who was there asleep, and whom they took to be the object of their search, they, on his awakening, discovered their mistake, and immediately took to flight. Under these various trials, Rajanaiken behaved with singular patience and fortitude, and even manifested a remarkable spirit of forgiveness. When urged by his friends to vindicate his right to the property, which the Catholics had unjustly wrested from him and his family, he not only relinquished his own claims, but exhorted his relations patiently to suffer the loss, by the following passages of scripture: "Ye had compassion on me in my bonds, and took joyfully the spoiling of your goods, knowing in yourselves, that ye have in heaven a better and an enduring substance." And again, "How hardly shall they that have riches enter into the kingdom of God!" *(o)* On another occasion, when one of the Popish Catechists, who had been a most violent enemy to the Protestant converts, was taken ill, Rajanaiken not only visited him at his own request, but afforded him pecuniary assistance, and, though he was in want himself, he borrowed money rather than leave his persecutor destitute. *(p)*

Violent, however, as was the opposition of the Roman Catholics to Rajanaiken, their bitterness, instead of frustrating his labours, contributed to their success. By this very means, the knowledge of the Protestant mission was spread farther through the country, and the Catholic converts, as well as the Pagans and Mahommedans, came daily in greater numbers to Tranquebar, to hear the discourses of

(n) Niecamp. Hist. p. 337. *(o)* Ibid. p. 356.
(p) Ibid. p. 395.

the missionaries, and to ask for books. In the place where Rajanaiken resided, almost all the Roman Catholic inhabitants were convinced of the truth of the Protestant doctrine, though the dread of their priests deterred them from making a public profession of it. Nor need this be matter of great surprize, considering the barbarous manner in which the young converts were treated by these base miscreants. *(q)* Sometimes they attempted to stir up their Pagan countrymen against them; sometimes they assaulted them upon their journies; sometimes they drove them from their homes; sometimes they beat them most unmercifully; sometimes they robbed, and even nearly murdered them in cold blood. In short, though the missionaries and their converts suffered some measure of opposition from the Pagans and Mahommedans, yet from none did they meet with so much trouble and persecution as from the Roman Catholics. They were even often indebted to Pagan and Mahommedan magistrates for protection from the outrages of men, who called themselves Christians. *(r)*

Finding, by experience, the great advantage of the native catechists, especially beyond the territory of the Danish East India Company, the missionaries began to pay particular attention to the preparation of some of the converts for this important office. The converts now rapidly increased, and of these, a very considerable number usually came from the country, in consequence of the zealous and faithful labours of the catechists. Many of these declared the foundation of their faith in language at once simple and expressive, though, previous to their conversion, some of them had displayed peculiar animosity to the gospel. The catechumens from the church of Rome, originally differed little from the Pagans, except that to their extreme ignorance they usually added greater enmity to the truth. Among others there was a woman, who, though she was baptized in her infancy, has been permitted to grow up in Heathen

(q) Niecamp. Hist. p. 302. *(r)* Niecamp. Hist. *passim.*

darkness, and yet had imbibed from the priests such a violent zeal against the missionaries and their converts, that, when one of the catechists sought to discourse with her on the subject of religion, she shut both her ears with her fingers, and immediately took to flight, dreading she would bring everlasting damnation upon herself, by hearing the words of a heretic. The catechist, however, by the kindness he manifested to her children, at length prevailed on her to stop and hear him, when he was speaking with some other persons. Immediately she formed a strong attachment to the truth; and when she came soon after to Tranquebar, she was not able to express the delight she felt in the gospel, concerning which, though a Christian by profession, she had heard nothing during her whole life. In the course of a few weeks, she brought her husband, who was previously a Pagan, her children, and some other relations, to be baptized. She had even instructed her little boy, who was only two years of age, and was still hanging at her breast, in the principal heads of the catechism, by frequently repeating them to him, so that it was truly delightful to see how God, out of the mouth of this babe had ordained praise. *(s)*

For some years past, the missionaries at Tranquebar had been much impressed with the importance of having a native pastor appointed over the congregations in the country, as they themselves were not able to take that particular oversight of them, which was necessary to their spiritual interests. Accordingly in December 1733, Aaron, who had long been distinguished for his zeal, activity, and success as a catechist, was set apart to the pastoral office, by prayer and imposition of hands. *(t)* He was the first native preacher among his countrymen; but besides him, there were at this period no fewer than twenty-four of the converts employed in the Tranquebar mission, either as catechists,

(s) Niecamp. Hist. p. 333, 352. *(t)* Ibid. p. 382.

schoolmasters, or assistants. Of these, sixteen belonged to the town, the other eight to the country congregations. (*u*)

Though some of the converts were no small trial to the missionaries, yet others afforded them the greatest satisfaction. The appearances of grace among them, were often of the most pleasing nature. Their tears and sighs shewed more strongly the deep impression of the truth upon their hearts than any words could express. In death, too, many of them afforded the most satisfactory evidence of the power of religion on their souls. Though they had lately been poor benighted Pagans, yet, believing in Christ, they passed off the stage of life with peace, with comfort and, with joy. (*v*) Among others, the example of one of the catechists, who died about this time, is not unworthy of notice. He was born in the district of Madura, and was brought to the missionaries by one of the Pagan inhabitants of Tranquebar, that they might take him under their care, and instruct him in the principles of Christianity, a circumstance which he used often to mention with admiration and gratitude. On his making a profession of the Christian faith, he was deserted by his wife, who went back to her former place of abode, and though he employed various means to induce her to return to him, that so they might at least live quietly together, yet she obstinately refused his request. Indeed, though she was naturally of a mild and affectionate disposition, yet once when he visited her, her fury was raised to such a terrible pitch, and her body thrown into such frightful gestures, that she seemed more like one possessed of the devil than a human being. "Wherefore," said she, "do you come to destroy my house; I will break thy head; I will tear thy bowels out of thy body." This was a severe trial to him, but yet he remained stedfast to his profession of Christianity, and was baptized a few months after. The name which he received in baptism, signifies, in the Tamulian language, *spiritually enlightened*, an appellation peculiarly

(*u*) Niecamp. Hist. p. 384. (*v*) Ibid. p. 330, 352, 376, 422.

characteric of this humble follower of the Lamb, of whom it might truly be said, "Behold an Israelite indeed, in whom there is no guile." By his diligence and faithfulness, he in a short time became qualified to be employed in the school, and afterwards in the congregation as an assistant catechist. Though not exempt from the ordinary frailties of humanity, it was his constant study, through divine grace, to check and overcome them. Hence he not only received the admonitions of the missionaries with humility and thankfulness, but he never failed, by his amendment, to shew, that, in admonishing him, they had not laboured in vain. He was at first apt to fall into paroxysms of anger; but so studious was he to restrain his passion, that he at length became distinguished for his patience and meekness. As he discovered an anxious concern for his own salvation, so he made it his principal study, on every occasion, to promote the salvation of others. Besides inspecting the scholars, over whom he exercised a truly parental care, he was accustomed, on certain days of the week, to instruct the catechumens and others belonging to the congregation, collected together for that purpose in the villages, at home in their own habitations or at work in the fields. Whatever office was assigned him, he executed it with fidelity, with simplicity, with zeal; and he was always careful to accompany his labours with his prayers, for the blessing of Heaven upon them. Previous to his death, his wife returned to him; and such was the influence of his holy example, that she was induced by it, not only to behave toward him with fidelity and affection, but even to embrace the Christian religion, notwithstanding her former prejudices against it. Immediately before the commencement of his last illness, it was observed, that he expressed, in strong terms, the deep sense which he had of his own sinfulness; that he manifested an ardent desire to remain faithful unto death; and that his whole heart seemed directed towards the eternal world. In his prayers, which were usually mingled with many tears, he made particular use of the word *eternal*, and repeated it with singular emphasis

begging that God would grant him grace to love him eternally, praise him eternally, serve him eternally. Being, at length, attacked with an obstruction in his liver, a disorder under which he had formerly laboured, he, after a short illness, departed in peace in the thirty-fifth year of his age, and little more than twenty-one months from the period of his baptism. *(w)* What a pleasing example is this of the power of religion in a Pagan! How delightful is it to witness the fruits of holiness flourishing in all their native vigour and beauty in a soil once overgrown with briars and thorns!

In 1735, the mission at Tranquebar suffered severely from the ravages of disease and death. About the middle of May, Samuel Richsteig, one of the missionaries who last came to the country, died; within a fortnight after, his colleague, Andrew Worms, likewise left the world; and in the short space of three weeks, the widow of the latter followed him to the grave. At the same time, most of the other missionaries were visited with various trials. In the beginning of the year, Pressier was attacked by a most violent dysentery; about the time of Worms' death, he, and Boss, and Walther, were all three seized with a fever, a circumstance which threw the congregation into terrible consternation. Besides, Walther, not long after, met with a new and severe affliction in the death of a most amiable wife. But in the midst of these various trials, they endeavoured to place their hope and confidence in God, and to approve themselves faithful servants before him. *(x)*

Before proceeding further, it may not be improper to make a few general observations with regard to the state of the mission about this period. At the close of the year 1,736, the whole number of converts, which had been made since the commencement of the mission amounted to 3,517; and of these there were still alive 2329. Though most of

(w) Niecamp. Hist. p. 424. *(x)* Ibid. p. 412.

them were of the race of Pariars,* there were also a considerable number of the Sooder cast. Such of them as resided beyond the territories of Tranquebar, especially those who were Sooders, were under no small restraints with regard to the profession and exercise of their religion. In the larger cities, indeed, as Tanjore and Madewispatnam, they enjoyed greater liberty, because the rulers employed persons of every description in their service, but yet the trouble which they suffered from the Roman Catholics was proportionally the more severe. Besides this, they laboured under various other disadvantages. Many of them were in the service of Pagan masters, and were often obliged to work even on the Lord's day. Few of them comparatively were able to read, and hence they could derive no improvement from books. They lived dispersed through the country, and as there was a want of suitable labourers, they could not obtain that regular instruction which was so necessary to persons in their situation. The missionaries, indeed, visited them as often as possible, but they had not yet liberty to settle among them. Aaron, the native pastor of the country congregations, travelled regularly among them; and the catechists, who were appointed to assist him, went, each over his own district, once or twice a month; and matters were so arranged among them, that on the Sabbath divine worship was performed in all the principal places. *(y)*

In the preparation of the candidates for baptism, the missionaries employed the most exemplary care. When any begged to have their names inserted in the list of catechumens, they were taken under the immediate inspection of the catechists and missionaries, and instructed in the principles of religion. In this *general* preparation, sometimes several months, or even a whole year, and in some instances a still longer period was employed, according to the circumstances of the case. Many who were of a wild disposition

(y) Niecamp. Hist. p. 453.

* This is not now the case, as will be afterwards stated.

and of uncultivated manners, it was no easy matter to reduce even to external good order. Some also, on account of their extreme old age, or the want of health, or other circumstances, could not learn much, nor even express in words what they had learned. If during the period of probation, they were diligent in the use of the external means of grace, and manifested a serious concern about their souls, they were then taken under more special instruction. In this *particular* preparation, four or five weeks were generally employed; but sometimes it was necessary to shorten this period with regard to those who came from the country, as it often happened they could not remain so long at Tranquebar. In these cases, however, the time appointed for their preparation was improved with so much the greater diligence; and in some instances they were made to promise to come again for further instruction. In general, none were admitted to baptism, or received into the church, who were defective in the knowledge of the gospel, or whose life did not correspond with their profession. *(z)*

Besides instructing the Christian converts in spiritual things, the missionaries had to attend to their temporal concerns. Such of the catechumens as came from places beyond the Danish territory, it was necessary to support during the period of their preparation, as they were employed the whole day in learning the catechism, and receiving instruction. Such as lived in the town did not occasion so much expence, yet it was necessary to allow something even to them, as during the time of their preparation, they were detained part of the day from their usual avocations. Besides, the missionaries were at considerable expence in providing the converts with the means of honestly gaining a livelihood for themselves and their families, by the labour of their hands. Such as had formerly been employed in a lawful calling were encouraged still to pursue it; but as all their Pagan friends and acquaintance usually deserted them when they embraced Christianity, it was often necessary to supply them

(z) Niecamp. Hist. p. 456.

with a little money to assist them in carrying it on. This was an expence, however, which diminished in proportion as the gospel spread through the country, and as the smaller congregations became united together. *(a)* *

In 1741, the country congregations had so increased in number, that it was found necessary to ordain over them a second native preacher. On this occasion, Diogo, one of the catechists who had been formerly chosen by half of the congregation, was selected; and after an examination in divinity and church history, he was solemnly set apart to the ministry, by prayer and imposition of hands. On the day of his ordination, he delivered the following discourse, which certainly exhibits a favourable proof of his talents, and particularly of his acquaintance with the Holy Scriptures.

Acts. iv. 12.

Neither is there salvation in any other; for there is none other name under heaven given among men, whereby we must be saved.

"From these words, we shall consider,

First, Whose name it is that is given.

Secondly, For what end it is given.

We are first to consider, Whose name it is that is given. St. Peter spake these words to the Jews, for they little

(a) Niecamp. Hist. p. 458.

* The practice of supporting the catechumens during the period of their preparation, is now given up, as it was found that many, particularly in seasons of scarcity, desired instruction, not for the sake of learning the things which belonged to their everlasting peace, but merely to get a supply of their temporal necessities; and on obtaining this, they went away and were never more heard of. The missionaries therefore made a new regulation, by which they agreed to give no assistance to such as lived in the town, except in very urgent cases. Those from distant places, they instruct in the forenoon, order them to work in the afternoon, and then give them the usual portion.—*Transactions of the Missionary Society*, vol. ii. p. 188.

esteemed Jesus of Nazareth, and rejected him, under pretence that he was not the Messiah sent from God. But Peter and John restored to health a poor man, who was lame from his mother's womb, and lay at the gate of the temple: this they did in the name of Jesus, to testify that he was the true Messiah. The people beholding this miracle, were filled with amazement and terror. The priests sent for the apostles, and asked them, By whose power, or name, they had done this? They replied, that they had done it in the name of Jesus Christ: this miracle, therefore, was wrought to testify, that Jesus of Nazareth was the Messiah promised before of God. The prophet Isaiah, chap. xxxv. 1—6, had long before written, that such miracles should be wrought by the Messiah. Thus God glorified the Lord Jesus by miracles.

" In our text, it is said, His name was given; His name who is 'the true God, and eternal life,' 1 John v. 20; 'God blessed for ever,' Rom, ix. 5; 'the brightness of his glory, and the express image of his person,' Heb. i, 3; 'the Word of God,' John i. 1; who has said, 'Lo I come,' Heb. x. 9; who was promised in paradise, Gen. iii. 15; who was to be a blessing to all nations, Gen. xxii. 18; the prophet foretold by Moses, Acts vii. 31; the comfort of Israel, 'the light of the Gentiles, and the salvation of God to the end of the earth,' Isaiah xlix. 6; whom many kings and prophets desired to see, Luke x. 21: he whom God the Father appointed to be the Redeemer of the world, and a Mediator, Ambassador, and Intercessor; Jesus of Nazareth, to whom all the prophets and apostles bear witness, that it is he who is to come into the world. In general it may be beautifully seen in the gospel, and in the sermons of the apostles, that Jesus of Nazareth is the Messiah. Paul, in particular, confounded the Jews at Damascus, proving that this is the Christ, Acts ix. 22. The Prophet Isaiah foretold, that, on account of his mean and despicable figure he would be rejected; 'his visage was marred more than any man. He was despised and

rejected of men, a man of sorrows, and acquainted with grief; and we hid as it were our faces from him; he was despised, and we esteemed him not,' Isaiah liii. 3. Thus the rejection and contempt put upon his person, is an argument that he was the true Messiah. Setting aside all this, Philip saith unto Nathaniel, 'We have found him, of whom Moses in the law and the prophets did write,' John i. 45; for he is the marrow of the books of the Old Testament also. All the prophets write of him, that he was to suffer, die, be buried, rise from the dead on the third day, ascend to heaven, and cause his gospel to be preached in all the world. As they foretold it, so it was fulfilled in Christ, as the books of the New Testament bear witness. He was to be born of the family of David, Jer. xxiii. 5; in the city of Bethlehem, Mic. v. 2; after the sceptre was departed from Judah, Gen. xlix. 10. He was to come to the second temple, which was built after the captivity of Babylon, Mal. iii. 1. He was to come within the seventy year's weeks, Dan. ix. 24. All this hath come to pass. But it is not enough for a man, to have some knowledge of the fact, that Jesus is the Messiah. We stand in need of the enlightening of the Holy Ghost; he must with his light seal this truth, and assure us of it; for 'no man can say, that Jesus is the Lord, but by the Holy Ghost, 1. Cor. xii 3.

"It is further said in our text, His name was *given*. We have heard to whom this name was given. Let us now hear also, why this name was given only unto our Saviour. It was because he has power to deliver them who believe in him from all misery, and to bring them unto happiness. Therefore God has given him this name. What name? The name of Jesus, Matt. i. 21. Besides this name, there never was any other given for us to be saved by. The angel said, 'Thou shalt call his name Jesus, for he shall save his people from their sins.' The name of Jesus is Hebrew, and signifies a Redeemer or Saviour; the name of Jesus teaches us what was his office. What was the office of Jesus? the office of a Redeemer, and hence he had his name. The name of

Jesus, is that wisdom which excels all religions. This name is the rock and corner stone of salvation, of which Peter saith, ver. 11. 'This is the stone which was set at nought by you builders, which is become the head of the corner.' This name fits no other person. In the days of the Old Testament, some pious people indeed were thus named; as Joshua, the commander of the armies of God, and Joshua, the high priest, the son of Josedech; but these were only types of Christ. Joshua, the son of Nun, was a type of the royal office of Christ. Joshua, overcame the enemies of Israel; the Lord Jesus has bruised the head of the hellish serpent, and common enemy of the spiritual Israel, or all believers. Joshua led Israel into the beautiful land of Canaan; Jesus has delivered us from the Egypt of hell, and the tyrannical power of the infernal Pharaoh, and brought us to the heavenly Canaan. And whereas Joshua, the son of Josedech, was a type of the Lord Jesus, in his priestly office, in sacrifices, in intercessions; so Jesus sacrificed himself, prayed for the people, and blessed us, Eph. v. 2.

"Again, it is said, 'No other name was given whereby we can be saved, but the name of Jesus.' Among all the priests, teachers, kings, prophets, scribes; among all the various religions, denominations, patriarchs, angels, saints, virtuous men or women, there is none that have power to redeem, none has a name like that of Jesus; therefore our heavenly Father has given this name unto him. The names of Peter, Paul, John, Mary, and so on, are not given to be saved in; neither can we be saved by their merits. The holy mother herself saith, 'My spirit rejoiceth in God my Saviour,' Luke i. 47. Neither is the name of the false prophet Mahommed, of the three fools Brahma, Veeshnoo, Ruttiren, or of the three hundred and thirty-three millions of false gods, to be saved in, for they cannot redeem men infected with the poison of sin. Their own conduct shews that they were sinners; they could not save themselves, how then shall they save others? Since men became sinners, they stood in need of one without

sin to redeem them. Thus we have seen whose name was given.

"Let us, secondly, Consider for what end it was given. In our text it is said, 'to be saved in.' All men stand in need of redemption; for, by the apostacy of their first father Adam, they lost righteousness, and became unrighteous; they lost holiness, and became unholy; they lost happiness, and became unhappy; they took upon them the image of Satan, from whence springs all evil. Such we all became, whether great or small; we all fell under the power of Satan, and perished. 'There is no difference, for all have sinned and come short of the glory of God,' Rom. iii. 22, 23; therefore Paul also saith, 'We all had our conversation in the lusts of the flesh, fulfilling the desires of the flesh and of the mind, and were by nature children of wrath, even as others, Eph. i. 3.

"All, therefore, stand in need of redemption; no one is able to save himself, Psalm xlix, 8, 9. The merciful God, being full of compassion, appointed his Son as our Redeemer, for this reason, as it was in the power of no other to save us from sin and misery, John iii. 16. Being the Son of God, he was able to redeem us; being the true God, we have full assurance of the completeness of our Saviour; 'He is made of God unto us wisdom, and righteousness, and sanctification, and redemption,' 1 Cor. i. 30. In order to redeem us, he suffered our sins to be charged upon him, he shed his blood, and gave his life a ransom for us: 'Who his own self bare our sins in his own body on the tree, that we, being dead to sin, should live unto righteousness, by whose stripes ye were healed,' 1 Pet. ii. 24. 'He was delivered for our offences, and was raised again for our justification,' Rom. iv. 25. Because he made atonement for sin, he also redeemed us from all misery connected with sin; what the first Adam ruined, he, the second Adam, has restored; he has procured every thing needful for our holiness and happiness. 'With his own blood, he entered into the holy of holies, having obtained eternal redemption for us.'

"Now, let us hear in what this eternal redemption consists. It is a state of happiness in the world to come; in this world, the pardon of sin; in the world to come, heavenly bliss. This he giveth unto all that believe in him, John i. 12. 'To him gave all the prophets witness, that, through his name, whosoever believeth in him shall receive remission of sins, Acts x. 43. Believers under the Old Testament believed in a Saviour then to come, and were saved. We, who live in the days of the New Testament, must believe in Jesus of Nazareth as already come; for 'Jesus Christ is the same yesterday, to day, and for ever,' Heb. xiii. 8. In him, we find all divine gifts and graces, all that maketh up a complete salvation.

"Beloved in the Lord Jesus! you have now heard of redemption, and of the Redeemer. God has given you a Saviour, who has power and ability to save you. Do not say, 'Let me be of what religion I will, yet I shall be saved.' Through Jesus the Redeemer redemption can be obtained, and through none besides. Choose no other for thy Mediator and Intercessor. Jesus is the only Mediator, 1 Tim. ii. 5; he alone has power for ever, to save all that come to God through him, Heb. vii. 25. He saith, 'I am the way, the truth, and the life, no man can come to the Father but by me.' He is a common Saviour of all kindreds of men, whether high or low. All men in the world must believe in him, if they will be saved, Isaiah xliii. 11, 'I am the Lord, and besides me there is no Saviour;' and ver. 12, 'I have redeemed you;' and ver. 14. 'I am the Lord, your Redeemer.' Therefore, O sinner! why goest thou to your idols and your sorcerers, just as if there was no Saviour.

"Think not them your Saviours, who are dead, for they have no power to save. But our Redeemer liveth for ever, Job xix. 25. Since Peter declared, he is the Saviour and the true God, let idols begone, and those who have no power to save. Be ye redeemed; the gospel of Jesus is the only saving gospel. Paul saith, 'Though we, or an angel from heaven, preach to you any other gospel than that which we

have preached unto you, let him be accursed,' Gal. i. 8. Nay, the Redeemer himself saith, 'Look unto me, and be ye saved, all ye ends of the earth,' Isaiah xlv. 12. He takes no pleasure in it if you perish, but it is his delight if you be saved. Do not delay it; say not, Let the time of redemption first come: Behold, 'now is the accepted time.' If we are not redeemed in this world, then neither shall we be saved in the next, 2 Cor. vi. 2. 'He that believeth not shall be damned,' Mark xvi. 16. They that are redeemed in this world, will be with the Lord Jesus in the next; this is a great happiness; then will they joyfully say, I have seen the Lord, and my soul has been preserved. Thus shall we enter into a peace of happy contentment. May the Lord grant it.

Akkianangol Kurreja: Let Heathenism decrease.
Jattia wedam murreja: And all be filled with the true law.
Poitewer namangol tarha: Let the name of idols perish.
Jesu namam warha. Amen. The name of Jesus be praised, Amen." *(b)**

In 1743, Benjamin Schulz, after having laboured in India with great diligence and zeal for twenty-four years, returned to Europe, were as far as the state of his health would permit, he still continued to promote the interests of the mission. Besides printing at Halle a Grammar of the Hindostanee language, *(c)* a work, the existence of which appears to be forgotten by our modern Oriental scholars, he published a translation of the New Testament into that

(b) Missionary Magazine, vol. ii. p. 555.
(c) Niecamp. Hist. Præf. p. 14.

* This discourse was taken in short hand, as it was delivered by Diogo, and hence it is probable labours under very considerable disadvantages. It is also evident, that the translation was made by a person who was imperfectly acquainted with the English language, and with our version of the scriptures; and, therefore, I have used the freedom to correct it, though never so as to alter or improve the sense.

language, and also of the four first chapters of Genesis, the Psalms of David, and the book of Daniel. *(d)* He also printed some tracts in the Telinga language, into which, as we have already mentioned, he translated the whole of the Old and New Testament and the Apocrypha, before he left India. *(e)*

While on the subject of these translations, it may not be improper to mention, that a second translation of the New Testament was made into the Tamul language many years afterwards, by John Philip Fabricius, one of the missionaries at Madras, who is described as an unparalleled Tamul scholar, and whose diction is said to be much more elegant and classical than that of the version by Ziegenbalg, though it also is faithful enough. *(f)*

In 1747, the whole number of converts, since the commencement of the mission at Tranquebar, including the children who were baptized in their infancy, amounted to eight thousand and fifty-six, of whom five thousand two hundred and thirty-five were still alive. The following Table will exhibit a more particular view of the numbers in the several congregations, both in town and country.

	Congregation.	Missionaries.	Catechists.	Schoolmasters.	Scholars.		
					Boys.	Girls.	Total.
Tranquebar.							
Tamulian, . .	1519	4	3	6	105	95	200
Portuguese, .	310	2	3	3	32	28	60
Country.							
Majaburam, .	1421						
Tanjore, . . .	233						
Madewis-patnam, . .	540						57
Terupalaturei,	639						
Cumbagonam,	519						*(g)*

(d) Bibliographical Dictionary, vol. i. p. 283.

(e) Niecamp. Hist. Præf. p. 15.—Transactions of the Missionary Society, vol. ii. p. 434.

(f) Report British and Foreign Bible Society, 1811, App. 23.

(g) Missionary Magazine, vol. ii. p. 560.

To this Table, we shall add a general view of the numbers of the converts, in the several years since the commencement of the mission, so far as we have been able to ascertain them; and also of the children in the schools, distinguishing those who were clothed and supported, as well as instructed, by the missionaries:

Year.	Baptized.	Scholars	Clothed and supported.
1706	--	--	--
1707	35	--	--
1708	57	--	--
1709	17	--	--
1710	53	--	--
1711	19	--	--
1712	--	70	--
1713	49	78	56
1714	41	85	--
1715	*24	--	--
1717	36	--	--
1718	58	--	--
1719	42	--	--
1720	44	--	--
1721	18	127	--
1722	18	141	75
1723	18	125	--
1724	28	153	--
1726	49	--	--
1727	167	--	--
1728	--	--	110
1729	282	183	151
1730	*296	177	150
1731	239	--	--
1732	*381	--	--
1733	*279	--	177
1734	*421	190	164
1735	319	--	--
1736	278	--	-- *(h)*
1739	738	--	--
1740	236	182	-- *(i)*
1747	577	317	236 *(k)*

(h) Niep. Hist. pass. *(i)* Princes' Christ. Hist. vl. ii. p. 32.
(k) Missionary Magazine, vol. ii. p 561.

* The numbers marked with an asterisk are only to the month of October.

About this period Providence was preparing for the mission in India, one who, for near half a century, proved one of its brightest and most distinguished ornaments. This was Christian Frederick Swartz, a young man who had lately come to Halle with the view of attending the Latin school in the celebrated Orphan House of that city. By the advice, however, of his countryman, the Rev. Benjamin Schulz, who, as we have already mentioned, had now returned from India, he entered the college immediately as he was twenty years of age, and sufficiently grounded in elementary knowledge. About that time, it was in contemplation to print the Bible in Tamul at Halle, under the superintendance of that distinguished missionary; and Swartz, together with another of the students, was appointed to learn that language, with the view of being employed in correcting the press; but though the design of printing the Tamul Bible was relinquished, the pains which he had taken for a year and a half in acquiring the language were not lost, as they proved the occasion of his being chosen as a missionary to India. *(l)*

In January 1750, Mr. Swartz, together with two other missionaries, named Hutteman and Polzenhagen, embarked for India; and after a voyage of about six months, they arrived in safety at Tranquebar. *(m)*

Upon their arrival in India, Mr. Hutteman was sent to Cuddalore, where a mission had been begun about thirteen years before. Here he laboured for a considerable time, along with Mr. John Kienander as his colleague; but in 1758, the town was taken by the French, and the missionaries and their flock were obliged to retire to their brethren at Tranquebar. About two years afterwards, however, Mr. Hutteman returned to his station at Cuddalore, which was now in the hands of the English; and it appears that his labours in that place were not in vain. Among other instances of his success, the conversion of a Pandaram named Arunasalem,

(l) Evan. Mag. vol. xv. p. 2. *(m)* Ibid. vol. xv. p. 3.

is not unworthy of notice. He was a priest of the sect of Isuren, a man of the highest cast, of a sound judgment, and of great learning. Having been taught from his infancy the doctrine of a future state of existence, he had even in early life been concerned about his soul; and when only fourteen years of age, he resolved not only to become a priest of Isuren, but to visit all the holy pagodas, and to wash in their sacred water in the hope of obtaining salvation. With the view of becoming a distinguished Pandaram, he placed himself under the tuition of one of the most celebrated priests in that part of the country, and under him he prosecuted his studies during a period of five years. By degrees, however, he was shocked with the absurdity and obscenity of the Hindoo system; and he began to suspect that a mode of worship so foolish and corrupt could not proceed from a wise and holy Being, who delighted in innocence and virtue. In this state of mind he came to Cuddalore, and having heard the gospel of Christ, it not only approved itself to his understanding, but spoke peace to his conscience and his heart. He now forsook the religion of his ancestors, and made a profession of Christianity, upon which the college of Pandarams at Tarmaburam in the kingdom of Tanjore, sent him the following curious letter: *(n)*

"The grace of Siwen, the creator, redeemer, and destroyer, be effectual in the soul of Arunasalem. If you enquire into the reasons of our writing this letter to you, know then: You were on a journey to the holy place of Cashy, and behold, by the cunning fraud of that arch-enemy, the Devil, your great wisdom and understanding have been so blinded, that you were not ashamed to go at Cuddalore to the low and base nation of Franks and Europeans, who are no better than the Pariars, and that to hear and be instructed in their despicable religion. Oh, into what amazement were we thrown on hearing this! the moment we heard it, we met in

(n) Rippon's Baptist Register, vol. iii.

the divine presence* of the head of the sacred college of Pandarams, and consulted on this event. Indeed we are sunk in an ocean of sorrow. It is needless to write many words on the subject, to a man of your understanding. Did you belong to the cursed populace, many words might be necessary. Remember, Arunasalem, your change is like a king turning Pariar. What have you wanted amongst us? Had you not honour and subsistence sufficient? It is inconceivable what could induce you to bring such a stain on the character of a Pandaram. We must impute this misfortune that has befallen you, to a crime that you have committed against God in some former generation.† Consider, Arunasalem, the noble blood of the Tondamar, from whence you sprang. You associate yourself to the basest people, who eat the flesh of cows and bullocks. Can any wisdom be amongst them? The moment you receive this letter, return again to this place; may Siwen give you understanding.

"This is the divine Oracle, written at the command of his Holiness the Head of the Pandarams at Tarmaburam."

To this letter Arunasalem returned a reply, of which the following is an extract:

"The grace of Parabara Wastu, Jehovah the living God, the blessed Creator and Preserver of the universe, fill the souls of all the Pandarams at Tarmaburam. I have received your letter, and have read the contents with sincere compassion. Will you know the reason? It is this: You have unaccountably forsaken the living God, the eternal Creator of all that exists; and have given the honour due

* These Pandarams are so exceedingly proud, that they consider themselves as a kind of gods, and have persuaded the people to look upon them as such. They are commonly saluted Tanhiran, god.

† The Malabars believe in the doctrine of transmigration for seven generations. When a misfortune befals them, they impute it to some sin committed they know not how, in a former generation.

to him to the creature. You think yourselves wise, though fallen into the most dreadful foolishness. You worship the Devil, the arch-enemy of all that is good. You give divine honour to men who were born of father and mother, and who, during their life, have been notorious fornicators, adulterers, rogues, and murderers. In your religious books are related the obscenest facts, whereby lust, the fire of Satan, is furiously kindled in an instant. My heart melts within me. I weep over you. Fourteen years have I been witness of your infamous worship in your pagodas; and I am in my conscience convinced, that you are in the road that leads directly to hell and eternal ruin. How holy, how majestic is God, as described in the sacred books of the Christians? You call them a base and ignorant people, but this is owing to your pride, which cometh from that proud spirit Satan. Come, my dear friends, and worship with me the God who made you. Be not deceived to expiate your sin by the washing and sacrifice of Lingam: the Christians alone have an expiatory sacrifice worthy of God. When I think on your blindness, my heart pities you. You know the integrity of my life; you never heard scandal of me: Could you then think I would renounce the religion of my fathers, without conviction of its falsehood and dreadful tendency? The God of infinite compassion hath delivered me a wretched sinner, out of the captivity of the Devil. Your promises of honour and riches touch me not. I have the hopes of an everlasting kingdom; You also may inherit it if you will repent. I have changed my religion, but not my cast. By becoming a Christian, I did not turn an Englishman: I am yet a Tondaman. Never did the priest of this place desire of me any thing contrary to my cast. Never did he bid me eat cow-flesh, neither have I seen him eat it, or any of the Tamulian Christians, though such a thing be not sinful in itself. Turn to the living God: So writeth Arunasalem, formerly a Pandaram, but now a disciple of the blessed Jesus." *(o)*

(o) Rippon's Baptist Reg. vol. iii.

In the meanwhile, Mr. Kienander, who was formerly at Cuddalore, had proceeded to Bengal with the view of establishing a mission in that country; a design which the missionaries had in contemplation for a number of years past, *(p)* but which they were never able to carry into execution until now. On his arrival at Calcutta, he met with a very favourable reception from many of the inhabitants of that place. Here he opened a school for the education of youth, and began with diligence and zeal to preach the gospel. *(q)* The mission to Bengal was continued till near the end of the eighteenth century; but it appears to have been attended with little success, and was at length given up. *(r)*

In the meanwhile, Mr. Swartz was by no means idle. After having been many years in the country labouring with great diligence and zeal, he was appointed in 1766 to preside over the mission which had been lately established at Trichinapoly. Here there was so extensive a field of labour, that he found it necessary to employ eight or nine catechists under him. We may notice in this place a remarkable deliverence which Mr. Swartz experienced some time after he settled in this town. The powder magazine of the fort blew up one day, and killed and wounded many persons, both natives and Europeans. The windows of Mr. Swartz's house were shattered, and several balls flew into the rooms, but providentially he himself escaped unhurt. *(s)*

Mr. Swartz's heart was much set on a mission to Tanjore. He often visited that populous city, in order to strengthen the congregation, and to try whether, by frequently preaching the gospel to them, he might not make some impression on the Pagan inhabitants. With this view, he took with him three of the catechists, who went about among the people, morning and evening, making known to them the

(p) Niecamp. Hist p. 411. *(q)* Rippon's Bapt. Reg. vol. iii.
(r) Miss. Reg. vol. i. p. 303. *(s)* Ibid. vol. i. p. 194.

principles of Christianity, and inviting them to the "obedience of faith." *(t)*

Mr. Swartz had even several conversations with the king of Tanjore on the subject of religion. That prince having understood that he was explaining the doctrines of Christianity to his officers, desired to hear them himself. Mr. Swartz, however, had scarcely opened his lips, when the great Brahmin entered the apartment. The Rajah prostrated himself before him to the ground, and afterwards stood in his presence, with his hands folded, while the priest placed himself on an elevated seat. The king asked several questions concerning repentance, and desired Mr. Swartz to marry a couple of Christians in his palace. With this request he readily complied, and performed the ceremony with as much solemnity as possible. Having sung a hymn, Mr. Swartz preached in the Tamul language, after which he concluded the exercise with prayer and praise. The Rajah and many of the spectators expressed themselves pleased, but the Brahmins considered this as a dangerous innovation. *(u)*

The Heathen were now beginning to be more inquisitive about Christianity, a circumstance which greatly animated Mr. Swartz in his labours. The awakening, however, of some of the Roman Catholics to a sense of the importance of religion, gave rise to a spirit of persecution which occasioned him much trouble. One of the catechists having visited a sick relative of his own, an ignorant Papist, the dying man begged him to instruct him in the principles of Christianity. His friend having explained to him the doctrines of repentance and of faith in Christ, he listened to them with great attention, and died soon after. The catechist, as being a near relative, wished to attend his funeral; but the Roman Catholics disliking this, and the Popish catechist having given him a blow, all the others fell upon

(t) Miss. Reg. vol. i. p. 196.
(u) Ibid. vol. i. p. 196.

him and beat him so unmercifully, that the Pagans themselves exclaimed against them as murderers. *(v)*

Mr. Swartz, indeed, found the Jesuits to be the greatest and most inveterate enemies of the mission. They were continually manifesting their enmity, by stirring up the country people to acts of violence. About this period, he met with a very mortifying instance of their influence in this respect. In a certain town there appeared a very pleasing prospect of success, the greater part of the inhabitants having shewn a willingness to be instructed in the principles of true religion. But during Mr. Swartz's absence, the Roman Catholic priest threatened his people, and refused to baptize their children, to marry, or to bury them, unless they would enter into an agreement to obtain the removal of the Protestant missionary and his catechists. He likewise told the Pagans, that if Mr. Swartz and his assistants gained ground, their pagodas would fall to ruin, and their festivals cease. In consequence of these measures, the catechists met with such ill treatment, that they were obliged to quit the place; and Mr. Swartz chose rather to submit patiently than to make any application to the magistrates, which might only have increased the evil. *(w)*

Mr. Swartz took unwearied pains with his assistant catechists in preparing them for their work, and direct them in it. He daily assembled all those who were not employed on stations too far distant, and instructed them how to explain the truths of Christianity, and to address their countrymen in a mild and winning manner, overlooking the passionate speeches and the rough treatment which they might occasionally receive in return for their kindness and love. In the morning, the catechists united with him in prayer, and in meditating on the word of God; after which, they were all employed, according to his directions, in preaching the gospel in various parts of the country, and

(v) Miss. Reg. vol. i. p. 197. *(w)* Ibid. vol. i. p. 197.

"trying," to use his own words, "whether they might not be so happy as to bring some of their wandering brethren into the way of truth." In the evening, they gave him an account of their labours, stating both the encouraging and the discouraging circumstances they had met with; and the day was closed, as it began, with meditation and prayer. *(x)*

Mr. Swartz was accustomed to converse with all ranks of the natives in the freest and most affectionate manner. Multitudes would hear him explain the principles of Christianity, and even acknowledge the folly and falsehood of their own system. It was no unusual thing for them to say, "True, what avail all our images, and numberless sacrifices! There is but one Supreme Being, the Maker and Preserver of all." But, in general, their convictions ended with their applause. Thousands, among whom were multitudes even of the Brahmins, confessed that their idolatry was vain and sinful, but fear, it is said, kept them from embracing the Christian religion. *(y)* It is not unlikely, however, that much of this was nothing more than empty Oriental compliment.

His exertions, however, were by no means confined to the instruction and conversion of the natives; he laboured with equal fidelity and zeal, for the salvation of the Europeans, both civil and military, who resided at any time within reach of his Christian benevolence. His ministry, it is said, was in various instances successful among the soldiers in the garrison, to whom he acted as chaplain. He opened English and Tamulian schools in various places, and was most affectionate and unwearied in his attention to children. Poor widows also came in for a share of the benevolence of this excellent man. On one occasion, when a sum of money was sent to him for their benefit, he resolved to expend it in erecting some comfortable habitations for them; but the design was brought to a stand for want of further funds. The young Rajah of Tanjore being on a

(x) Miss. Reg. vol. i. p. 200. *(y)* Ibid. vol. i. p. 198, 203.

visit to that part of the country, Mr. Swartz applied to him in behalf of the poor widows; and having succeeded in his application, completed a row of small houses for the reception of these destitute women. *(z)*

Anxious to extend the sphere of his usefulness, Mr. Swartz earnestly begged for some assistance in the mission, that he might be enabled to reside some months in the year at Tanjore, and if it should be found expedient, settle in that populous city. He had already made more than one application to the nabob for some ground in that town, on which to build a chapel for divine worship; but these applications had as often been refused, though with a profusion of Oriental compliments. As the garrison, however, in that city was numerous, Mr. Swartz, in 1779, addressed a letter to the governor and council at Madras, and immediately obtained their sanction and assistance for the erection of a church, in which divine service might be performed in a regular and becoming manner. The funds, however, having failed, he applied to the Honourable Board at Madras for further pecuniary aid; and in reply, he was desired to come with all speed to that city. *(a)* The object of this summons will be best explained in his own simple and impressive words.

"Here I was acquainted," says he, "with the purpose for which I was called before the presidency. The governor told me, that they wished to preserve peace with Hyder Ally; but, as he entertained some mistaken notions, and evil persons endeavoured to confirm him in those bad ideas, the Honourable Board desired I would take a journey to Seringapatam in a private manner, and undeceive him by a fair declaration of their pacific sentiments, particularly as I, from my knowledge of the Moorish language, could converse with him without the help of an interpreter. The novelty of the proposal surprised me at first, for which

(z) Miss. Reg vol. i p. 200.
(a) Ibid. vol. i. p. 197, 201, 204.

reason I begged some time to consider it. At last I accepted of the offer, because by doing so, I hoped to prevent evil, and to promote the welfare of the country. I thought also, that I could thereby give some small proof of the gratitude which I felt to the Honourable Board for the many favours, they have bestowed on me during my residence at Tritchinapoly. Besides, I saw that I should have an opportunity of conversing with many people about the things of God, who perhaps had never heard a word concerning God and a Redeemer.

I spent three months in Hyder Ally's country. There I found Englishmen, Germans, Portuguese, and even some of the Malabar people whom I had instructed at Tritchinapoly. To find them in that country was painful to me; but to renew some part of the instruction which they formerly received was very agreeable. A tent was pitched on the glacis of the fort, in which divine service was performed without the least impediment.

Hyder Ally gave a plain answer to all the questions I was ordered to put to him; so that the Honourable Board at Madras obtained that information which they desired.

"Being told that the governor, Sir Thomas Rumbold, intended to procure me a present from the Board, I begged leave to decline accepting any, declaring, that if my journey had been any way beneficial to the public, I rejoiced at it. I signified, at the same time, that it would make me very happy, if the Honourable Board would allow my colleague at Tritchinapoly, the same yearly present which they had given to me, being convinced that he would use it for the benefit of the school, and the maintenance of some catechists. This request was granted. Mr. Pohle receives at Tritchinapoly yearly a hundred pounds sterling,* as I do here at Tanjore, by which means we are enabled to maintain in both places schoolmasters and catechists.

One circumstance relative to my journey I beg leave to add. When I took leave of Hyder Ally, he presented me with a bag of rupees for the expence of my journey; but

having been furnished with necessaries by the Honourable Board, I delivered the bag to them. As they urged me to take it, I desired their permission to appoint this sum, as the beginning of a fund for an English charity-school at Tanjore, hoping that some charitable people would increase that small fund, consisting of three hundred rupees." *(b)*

In 1781 and the two following years, there was a period of severe famine and of complicated distress in the country. War raged in the peninsula, and was attended with such devastation and ruin, that, in comparison of it, all former wars seemed perfectly trifling. During this period of distress, Mr. Swartz's congregations increased greatly, many people being induced by hunger, to come to him for aid. While he instructed them in the truths of religion, he also procured them some provision, though not adequate to the supply of their wants, for that was beyond his power. The teaching of them was attended with much difficulty, as their mental powers were greatly impaired; but yet he could not persuade himself, that it would be consistent with the will of God to abandon them. The famine, indeed, was so great, and of such long continuance, that many were affected by it who seemed beyond its reach. A vigorous healthy man was scarcely to be seen. In outward appearance, the people were like walking skeletons. *(c)*

Apprehensive of the renewal of war, Mr. Swartz bought a quantity of rice while the price was moderate, and Providence inclined the heart of some Europeans to send him a a portion monthly. With this food, he preserved numbers from perishing, who were actually lying about the open roads. *(d)*

In February 1785, Mr. Swartz acknowledges the assistance which he had received from Mr. John Sullivan, the president at Tanjore. On the suggestion of this gentleman, he zealously entered into a plan of establishing provincial

(b) Miss. Reg. vol. i. p. 204. *(c)* Ibid. vol. i. p. 208.
(d) Ibid. vol. i. p. 209.

English schools throughout the country, in order to facilitate the intercourse of the natives with the Europeans; that the natives by learning, in some measure, the English language, might escape the impositions practised upon them; and that by establishing good men as teachers, they might by degrees instil into the minds of their pupils the principles of true religion. He foresaw great difficulties in the execution of this plan, particularly from the want of suitable teachers; but yet he entered on it, in hope that God might crown it with his blessing. Schools of this kind were established at Tanjore, Ramanadaburam, Sivagenga, and Cumbagonam. They consisted chiefly of the children of Brahmins and merchants. Several of the native princes, among whom was the Rajah of Tanjore, assisted him in this design; and the East India Company directed the government at Madras, to pay £100 annually toward the support of each provincial English school, and the same sum to every other which might be established. These provincial schools, at well as the English and Malabar schools, were attended with the most beneficial effects. They furnished young men, who were employed at Madras with handsome salaries, as writers, and others who obtained considerable employments under government. The provincial school at Tanjore in particular, was much frequented by children of the first families, and the improvement made by the scholars was very observable. *(e)*

In January 1787, the Rajah of Tanjore, after adopting a son to fill his throne, applied to Mr. Swartz to take upon him the office of a guardian. Having called on that good man with the boy, he pointed to him saying, "This is not my son but yours. Into your hands and care I deliver the child." To this Mr. Swartz replied, "You know, sir, my willingness to serve you according to my scanty ability. But this your last wish and desire is beyond my power. You have adopted a child of nine years. You know

(e) Miss. Reg. vol. i. p. 241.

there are parties in your palace. I may see the boy, perhaps, once or twice in a month. What good can this do him? I am afraid the life of the child will be in danger, and your country brought into a state of confusion. You must fall upon some other method." The Rajah then asked, "What method do you mean?" To this Mr. Swartz answered. "You have a brother, deliver the child to him. Charge him to become a father to it, and when the child is grown up, let your brother do to it as a father would do in such a case. By this means, you will save the boy's life, and preserve your country in tranquility." The Rajah said he would consider of it; and accordingly he adopted the advice of Mr. Swartz, and appointed his brother the guardian of the child. *(f)*

Agreeably to the promise of the late Rajah to Mr. Swartz, his brother Amer Sing, delivered to him a written document, sealed by himself and his chief ministers, in which he made an appropriation for ever, of a village of the yearly income of about five hundred pagodas for the school, and more especially for the orphans. Mr. Swartz proposed to give it to the government of Tranquebar, on condition that five hundred pagodas should be annually paid to the school. *(g)*

In 1793, when a bill was depending in the British Parliament for the renewal of the East India Company's charter, certain clauses were proposed in favour of free schools, and Christian missionaries. In the course of a debate on this important subject, Mr. Montgomery Campbell threw out some severe though unjust reflections, on the character of the converts on the coast of Coromandel. Mr. Swartz having seen this statement, judged it necessary to make a reply to it; and as the letter which he addressed on this occasion to the secretary of the Society for promoting Christian Knowledge, contains a number of important circumstances relative to the mission, and places its utility,

(f) Miss. Reg. vol. i. p. 245. *(g)* Ibid. vol. i. p. 246.

even in a political point of view, in a striking and interesting light, we shall insert it at full length.

Tanjore, Feb. 13, 1794.

" Reverend and dear Sir,

As his Majesty's 74th regiment is partly stationed at Tanjore, and partly at Vallam, six English miles distant from Tanjore, we commonly go once a week to Vallam, to perform divine service to four companies of that regiment. When I lately went to that place, the 210th number of a newspaper called the Courier, Friday evening, May 24th, 1793, was communicated to me. In that paper, I found a paragraph delivered by Mr. M. Campbell, (who came out to India with Sir Archibald Campbell in the station of a private secretary,) wherein my name was mentioned in the following manner:

" Mr. Montgomery Campbell gave his decided vote against the clause, and reprobated the idea of converting the Gentoos. It is true, missionaries have made proselytes of the Pariars, but they were the lowest order of people, and had even degraded the religion they professed to embrace. Mr. Swartz, whose character was held so deservedly high, could not have any reason to boast of the purity of his followers: they were proverbial for their profligacy. An instance occurred to his recollection perfectly in point. He had been preaching for many hours to this cast of proselytes on the heinousness of theft, and, in the heat of his discourse, had taken off his stock, when that and his gold buckle were stolen by one of his virtuous and enlightened congregation. In such a description of natives did the doctrine of the missionaries operate. Men of high cast would spurn at the idea of changing the religion of their ancestors.'

As this paragraph is found in a public paper, I thought it would not displease the Honourable Society to make a few observations on it, not to boast, which I detest, but to declare the plain truth, and to defend my brethren and myself.

About seventeen years ago, when I resided at Trichinapolly, I visited the congregation at Tanjore. In my road, I

arrived very early at a village which is inhabited by Collaries, a set of people, who are infamous for stealing; even the name of a *Collary* signifieth a *thief*. These Collaries make nightly excursions in order to rob. They drive away bullocks and sheep, and whatever they can find; for which outrage, they annually pay 1500 chakr, or 750 pagodas, to the Rajah. Of this cast of people many live in the Tanjore country, still more in Tondimans country, and likewise in the nabob's country.

When I arrived at one of those villages called Pudaloor, I took off my stock, putting it upon a sand-bank. Advancing a little to look out for the man who carried my linen clothes, I was regardless of the stock, at which time some thievish boys took it away, Not one grown person was present. When the inhabitants heard of the theft, they desired me to confine all those boys, and to punish them as severely as I pleased. But I refused to do that, not thinking that the trifle which I had lost was worth so much trouble.

That such boys, whose fathers are professed thieves, should commit a theft, can be no matter of wonder. All the inhabitants of that village were Heathens; not one Christian family was found therein. Many of our gentlemen travelling through that village have been robbed. The trifle of a buckle I did not therefore lose by a Christian, as Mr. Montgomery Campbell will have it, but by Heathen boys. Neither did I preach at that time. Mr. Campbell says that I preached two hours. I did not so much as converse with any man.

This poor story, totally misrepresented, is alleged by Mr. M. Campbell to prove the profligacy of Christians, whom he called. with a sneer, virtuous and enlightened people. If Mr. M. Campbell has no better proof, his conclusion is built upon a bad foundation, and I shall not admire his logic: truth is against him.

Neither is it true, that the best part of those people who have been instructed are Pariars. Had Mr. M. Campbell visited even once our church, he would have observed, that

more than two-thirds were of the higher cast; and so it is at Tranquebar and Vepery.

Our intention is not to boast; but this I may safely say, that many of those people who have been instructed, have left this world with comfort, and with a well-grounded hope of everlasting life. That some of those who have been instructed and baptized, have abused the benefit of instruction, is certain. But all sincere servants of God, nay, even the Apostles, have experienced this grief.

"It is asserted, that a missionary is a disgrace to any country. Lord Macartney, and the late general Coote, would have entertained a very different opinion. They, and many other gentleman, know and acknowledge that the missionaries have been beneficial to government, and a comfort to the country. This I am able to prove in the strongest manner. Many gentlemen who live now in England, and in this country, would corroborate my assertion.

That the Rev. Mr. Gericke has been of eminent service to Cuddalore, every gentlemen who was at Caddalore at the time when the war broke out, knows. He was the instrument in the hands of Providence by which Cuddalore was saved from plunder and bloodshed. He saved many gentlemen from becoming prisoners to Hyder, which lord Macartney kindly acknowledged.

When Negapatam, that rich and populous city fell into the deepest poverty, by the unavoidable consequences of war, Mr. Gericke behaved like a father to the distressed people of that city. He forgot that he had a family to provide for. Many impoverished families were supported by him; so that when I, a few months ago, preached, and administered the sacrament in that place, I saw many who owed their and their children's lives to his disinterested care. Surely this, my friend, could not be called a disgrace to that place. When the Honourable Society ordered him to attend the congregation at Madras, all lamented his departure. And at Madras he is esteemed by the governor, and many other gentlemen, to this day.

It is a most disagreeable task to speak of one's self. However, I hope that the Honourable Society will not look upon some observations which I am to make, as a vain and sinful boasting, but rather as a necessary self-defence. Neither the missionaries, nor any of the Christians, have hurt the welfare of the country.

In the time of war, the fort of Tanjore was in a distressed condition. A powerful enemy was near, the people in the fort numerous, and not provision even for the garrison. There was grain enough in the country, but we had no bullocks to bring it into the fort. When the country people formerly brought paddy into the fort, the rapacious Dubashes deprived them of their due pay. Hence all confidence was lost; so that the inhabitants drove away their cattle, refusing to assist the fort. The late Rajah ordered, nay, entreated the people, by his managers, to come and help us; but all was in vain.

At last the Rajah said to one of our principal gentlemen, 'We all, you and I, have lost our credit; let us try whether the inhabitants will trust Mr. Swartz.' According, he sent me a blank paper, empowering me to make a proper agreement with the people. Here was no time for hesitation. The Seapoys fell down as dead people, being emanciated with hunger. Our streets were lined with dead corpses every morning. Our condition was deplorable. I sent, therefore, letters every where round about, promising to pay any one with my own hands; and to pay them for any bullock which might be taken by the enemy. In one or two days I got above a thousand bullocks, and sent one of our catechists, and other Christians into the country. They went at the risk of their lives, made all possible haste, and brought into the fort, in a very short time, 80,000 kalams; by this means the fort was saved. When all was over I paid the people, (even with some money which belonged to others,) made them a small present, and sent them home.

The next year, when colonel Braithwaite, with his whole detachment, was taken prisoner, major Alcock commanded

this fort, and behaved very kindly to the poor starving people. We were then the second time in the same miserable condition. The enemy always invaded the country when the harvest was nigh at hand. I was again desired to try my former expedient, and succeeded. The people knew that they were not to be deprived of their pay; they therefore came with their cattle. But now the danger was greater, as the enemy was very near. The Christians conducted the inhabitants to proper places, surely with no small danger of losing their lives. Accordingly they wept, and went, and supplied the fort with grain. When the inhabitants were paid, I strictly inquired whether any of the Christians had taken from them a present. They all said, 'No, no; as we were so regularly paid, we offered your catechist a cloth of small value, but he absolutely refused it.'

But Mr. M. Campbell says, that the Christians are profligate to a proverb. If Mr. M. Campbell was near me, I would explain to him, who are the profligate people who drain the country. When a Dubash, in the space of ten or fifteen years, scrapes together two, three, or four lacks of pagodas, is not this extortion a high degree of profligacy? Nay, government was obliged to send an order that three of these Gentoo Dubashes should quit the Tanjore country. The enormous crimes committed by them, filled the country with complaints, but I have no mind to enumerate them.

It is asserted that the inhabitants of the country would suffer by missionaries. If the missionaries are sincere Christians, it is impossible that the inhabitants should suffer any damage by them; if they are not what they profess to be, they ought to be dismissed.

When Sir Archibald Campbell was governor, and Mr. M. Campbell his private secretary the inhabitants of the Tanjore country were so miserably oppressed by the manager, and the Madras Dubashes, that they quitted the country. Of course all cultivation ceased. In the month of June the cultivation should commence, but nothing was done, even at the beginning of September. Every one dreaded the

calamity of a famine. I entreated the Rajah to remove that shameful oppression, and to recal the inhabitants. He sent them word that justice should be done to them, but they disbelieved his promises. He then desired me to write to them, and to assure them that he, at my intercession, would shew kindness to them. I did so. All immediately returned; and first of all the Kallers, or, as they are commonly called, the Collaries, believed my word, so that 7,000 men came back on one day. The rest of the inhabitants followed their example. When I exhorted them to exert themselves to the utmost, because the time for cultivation was almost lost, they replied in the following manner: 'As you have shewed kindness to us, you shall not have reason to repent of it; we intend to work night and day to shew our regard for you.' Sir Archibald Campbell was happy when he heard it; and we had the satisfaction of having a better crop than the preceeding year.

As there was hardly any administration of justice, I begged and entreated the Rajah to establish justice in his country. 'Well,' said he, 'let me know wherein my people are oppressed.' I did so. He immediately consented to my proposal, and told his manager that he should feel his indignation, if the oppression did not cease immediately. But as he soon died, he did not see the execution.

When the present Rajah began his reign, I put Sir Archibald Campbell in mind of that necessary point. He desired me to make a plan for a court of justice, which I did; but it was soon neglected by the servants of the Rajah, who commonly sold justice to the best bidder.

When the Honourable Company took possession of the country, during the war, the plan for introducing justice was re-assumed; by which many people were made happy. But when the country was restored to the Rajah, the former irregularities took place.

During the assumption, government desired me to assist the gentlemen collectors. The district towards the west of Tanjore had been very much neglected, so that the water-

courses had not been cleansed for the last fifteen years. I proposed that the collector should advance 500 pagodas to cleanse those water-courses. The gentlemen consented, if I would inspect the business. The work was begun and finished, being inspected by Christians. All that part of the country rejoiced in getting 100,000 kalams more than before. The inhabitants confessed, that, instead of one kalam, they now reaped four.

No inhabitant has suffered by Christians, none has complained of it. On the contrary, one of the richest inhabitants said to me, 'Sir, if you send a person to us, send us one who has learned all your ten commandments.' For he and many hundred inhabitants had been present when I explained the Christian doctrine to Heathens and Christians.

The inhabitants dread the conduct of a Madras Dubash. These people lend money to the Rajah at an exhorbitant interest, and then are permitted to collect their money and interest in an appointed district. It is needless to mention the consequences.

When the Collaries committed great outrages in their plundering expeditions, Seapoys were sent out to adjust matters, but it had no effect. Government desired me to inquire into that thievish business, I therefore sent letters to the head Collaries. They appeared. We found out, in some degree, how much the Tanjore and Tonidman's and the nabob's Collaries had stolen; and we insisted upon restoration, which was done accordingly. At last all gave it in writing, that they would steal no more. This promise they kept very well for eight months, and then they began their old work; however not as before. Had that inspection over their conduct been continued, they might have been made useful people. I insisted upon cultivating their fields, which they really did. But if the demands become exhorbitant, they have no resource, as they think, but that of plundering.

At last some of those thievish Collaries desired to be instructed. I said, 'I am obliged to instruct you, but I am afraid that you will become very bad Christians.' Their

promises were fair. I instructed them, and, when they had a tolerable knowledge, I baptized them. Having baptized them, I exhorted them to steal no more, but to work industriously. After that I visited them, and having examined their knowledge, I desired to see their work. I observed with pleasure, that their fields were excellently cultivated. 'Now,' said I, 'one thing remains to be done: you must pay your tribute readily, and not wait till it is exacted by military force,' which otherwise is their custom. Soon after that, I found that they had paid off their tribute exactly. The only complaint against those Christian Collaries was, that they refused to go upon plundering expeditions as they had done before.

Now I am well aware, that some will accuse me of having boasted. I confess the charge willingly, but lay all the blame upon those who have constrained me to commit that folly. I might have enlarged my account, but fearing that some characters would have suffered by it, I stop here. One thing, however, I affirm before God and man, that if Christianity, in its plain and undisguised form, was properly promoted, the country would not suffer, but be benefited by it.

If Christians were employed in some important offices, they should if they misbehaved, be doubly punished; but to reject them entirely is not right, and discourageth.

The glorious God, and our blessed Redeemer, has commanded his apostles to preach the gospel to all nations. The knowledge of God, of his divine perfections, and of his mercy to mankind, may be abused but there is no other method of reclaiming mankind than by instructing them well. To hope that the Heathens will live a good life without the knowledge of God, is a chimera.

The praise bestowed on the Heathens of this country by many of our historians, is refuted by a close, I might almost say superficial, inspection of their lives. Many historical works are more like a romance than history. Many gentlemen here, are astonished how some historians have prostituted their talents by writing fables.

I am now at the brink of eternity, but to this moment I declare, that I do not repent of having spent forty-three years in the service of my divine Master. Who knows but God may remove some of the great obstacles to the propagation of the gospel? Should a reformation take place amongst the Europeans, it would, no doubt, be the greatest blessing to the country.

These observations I beg leave to lay before the honourable Society, with my humble thanks for all their benefits bestowed on this work, and sincere wishes that their pious and generous endeavours to disseminate the knowledge of God and Jesus Christ, may be beneficial to many thousands. I am, sincerely,

Rev. and dear Sir,
Your affectionate brother,
and humble servant,
C. F. Swartz." *(h)*

To this interesting letter we shall only add, that Mr. Montgomery Campbell on seeing it, wrote an apology to Mr. Swartz, and excused himself by saying, that his speech had been erroneously reported in the newspapers. *(i)*

As Mr. Swartz's labours were very extensive, so they were attended with remarkable success. It has been stated though on what authority we know not, that, besides being the mean of turning a very considerable number of the natives from the superstition of their ancestors to the profession of Christianity, he calculated, even some time before his death, that he had been instrumental in savingly converting about two thousand of them to the faith of the gospel, of whom five hundred were Mahommedans, and the rest Hindoos of different casts. *(k)* One of the Danish converts,

(h) Miss. Reg. vol. i. p. 274.

(i) Report of the Society for promoting Christian Knowledge for 1800, in Fuller's Apology for Christian Missions, part i. App. 22.

(k) Miss. Mag. vol. ii. p. 7.

in speaking of this illustrious man, mentioned among other things the following interesting circumstance: "Mr. Swartz," said he, "was full of love to Christ. He used to preach of the love of the Redeemer till he wept, and then his hearers soon became Christians." *(l)*

Mr. Swartz enjoyed almost an uninterrupted state of good health, *(m)* and pursued to the last his ministerial labours with great diligence and fervour. Even in the latter months of his life, he preached every Sabbath in the English and Tamulian languages alternately; and on Wednesdays, he gave a lecture in Portuguese for the space of several weeks, and afterwards in the German language, to the private soldiers who had been taken prisoners in the island of Ceylon. He likewise undertook a journey to Tritchinapoly, and several times visited Vallam, a town six miles from Tanjore, in order to preach to some military who were stationed at that place, as well as to invite the Pagans to the Redeemer. *(n)*

During the course of the week, he explained the New Testament, in his usual order, at morning and evening prayers; and he employed an hour every day, in teaching the Malabar children belonging to the schools the principles of religion. He was extremely anxious about their improvement in knowledge and piety, especially of those whom he had chosen, and was training for the service of the mission. He took particular delight in visiting the members of his congregation, and in conversing with them concerning the things which belonged to their everlasting peace. It was a most pleasing sight to behold the little children flock around him as to a beloved parent, and to observe in what an engaging manner he endeavoured to instil the truths of religion into their tender minds. To this we may add, that he heard

(l) Periodical Accounts relative to the Baptist Missionary Society, vol. ii. p. 183.

(m) Evang. Mag. vol. xv. p. 4.

(n) Miss. Reg. vol. i. p. 310.

almost daily, the accounts of the catechists concerning their conversation with their Christian brethren, the Roman Catholics and the Pagans; and embraced every opportunity of giving them directions for the prudent and faithful discharge of their office. *(o)*

But though he continued these various labours, his strength was visibly on the decline, and he frequently spoke of his approaching dissolution, as an object to which he looked forward not with terror, but with delight. He was at length seized with a cold and hoarseness, and these were quickly followed with a severe vomiting, by which his strength was quite exhausted, and his body extremely emaciated. From this complaint, indeed, he recovered, but it was affecting to observe, that it had enfeebled, in no small degree, the powers of his mind. Though his thoughts, however, were incoherent when he talked on worldly subjects, they were quite connected when he spoke of spiritual things. About two months after, he complained of a slight inflammation in his right foot, which in a few days threatened mortification. *(p)* This, indeed, was checked, but he sunk into such a state of debility, that he was obliged to be lifted, and carried about like a child. *(q)* Though the pain he suffered was still very severe, yet no murmuring word was heard to drop from his lips; and at length, after exhibiting an interesting example of Christian faith, and hope, and joy, he expired without a struggle or a groan February 13, 1798, aged seventy-two years, forty-eight of which he had spent as a missionary in India.

On the following day, the remains of this venerable man were interred in the chapel erected by him near his house in the garden. Serfogee, the Rajah of Tanjore, whose tutor he had been, came to see his corpse before the coffin was nailed down. He even bedewed it with his tears, covered it with a piece of gold cloth, and accompanied it

(o) Miss. Reg. vol. i. p. 310. *(p)* Ibid vol. i. p. 311.
(q) Evan. Mag. vol. xv. p. 5.

to the grave. His fellow missionaries designed that a funeral hymn should be sung on the way to the chapel; but the lamentations of the multitude, who had crowded into the garden, prevented it. At the funeral, the servant of Mr. Swartz, in a deep tone of sorrow and despondency, exclaimed "Now all our hopes are gone." Nor was this the sentiment of a solitary individual; it was the feeling of multitudes, both Christians and Pagans, both great and small. On examining Mr. Swartz's will, it was found that, with his usual benevolence, he had made the mission at Tanjore, the poor, and the establishments belonging to it, the heirs of his property. *(r)*

To mark their high sense of Mr. Swartz's worth, and of the important services which he had rendered the country, the East India Company have erected in Madras a monument to his memory, executed by the late celebrated Mr. Bacon. As the apostolic labours of this illustrious man were already well known in India, it was thought unnecessary to represent him, as that distinguished artist first intended, in his official character as a missionary. It was judged more expedient to represent the correspondence of his dying moments with the general tenor of his life.

The PRINCIPAL compartment of the monument is occupied with an alto-relievo representation of Mr. Swartz, in the closing scene of his life. He is surrounded by a group of his infant pupils, to whom he afforded an asylum in his house, and by several of his fellow labourers, who attended him in his last moments. One of the children is embracing his dying hand, and one of the missionaries is supporting his head; but the eyes of Mr. Swartz are directed, and his hand is raised, towards an object in the upper part of the bas relief, namely the cross, which is borne by a descending angel, implying, that the death of Christ, the grand subject of his ministry, was now the chief support of his soul, "when flesh and heart were ready to faint and fail."

(r) Evan. Mag. vol. xv. p. 8.

Over the bas relief, is the ark of the covenant, which was peculiarly the charge of the priests, and was a striking emblem of the constant theme of his preaching.

Under the bas relief, are further emblems of the pastoral office, namely, the crosier; the gospel trumpet, with the banner of the cross attached to it; and an open Bible, on which is inscribed our Lord's commission to his servants, "Go ye into all the world, and preach the gospel to every creature." *(s)*

Such testimonies of respect to the memory of Mr. Swartz, were not confined to Europeans, or even to Christians. We are informed by Dr. Buchanan, that the Rajah of Tanjore has placed his portrait among the pictures of the princes of that country, in his principal hall of audience. *(t)* No son, indeed, could have a greater veneration for his father, than Serfogee had for Mr. Swartz. In token of his respect for him, he addressed a letter to the Society for promoting Christian Knowledge, requesting them to erect a monument of marble in his capital, in the church where the good man preached, "with a view," said he, "to perpetuate the memory of father Swartz, and to manifest the high esteem I have for the character of that great and good man, and the gratitude I owe him,—my father, my friend, the protector and guardian of my youth." The Rajah has, at the same time, given proofs of his respect and attachment for Mr. Swartz of a more substantial nature, and which, to the generous soul of that excellent man, would have afforded far higher satisfaction. Having erected a large charitable institution for the maintenance and education of Hindoo children of different casts, his affectionate regard for the memory of his late guardian, induced him to form a similar establishment for the benefit of fifty Christian children; and, besides them, there are thirty poor Chris-

(s) Evan. Mag. vol. xv. p. 8.

(t) Buchanan's Christian Researches, 3d edition, p. 63. Religious Monitor, vol. v. p. 278.

tians maintained and clothed in this institution. He has also given orders, that the Christian servants, civil and military, shall not be denied liberty by their officers, of attending divine worship on the Sabbath, or on festival days, and that they shall be excused from all other duty on these occasions. He shewed much respect for all the missionaries whom he discovered to possess the same sentiments and zeal as Mr. Swartz; and expressed a wish, that none might be employed in the mission but such as would follow the footsteps of that good man, and were like him at least in piety. *(u)*

Leaving Mr. Swartz, we shall now return and relate the further progress of the mission. In consequence of the rebellion of the Polygars in the south of India, the congregations, in that part of the country, had of late suffered great distress. The war having now taken a favourable turn, Mr. Gericke proceeded, we suppose about the end of 1801, on a visit to Palamcottah, and the other southern districts, with the view of collecting and comforting the poor converts in that quarter of the country. When he came near the extremity of the peninsula, he found whole villages of Pagans anxiously waiting for his arrival, in order to be farther instructed and baptized by him. They had got acquainted with the native priest, and with the catechists, and the Christians, in that part of the country, and had already learned from them the catechism. When they heard of Mr. Gericke's arrival, they broke their idols to pieces, and converted their Pagan temples into Christian churches, in which he instructed and baptized them. He afterwards formed them into regular congregations, procured for them catechists and schoolmasters, and made them choose, in each place, four elders. These examples awakened the whole country, and when he was about to leave it, the inhabitants of many other villages sent messages to him, requesting him to remain sometime longer

(u) Christian Observer, vols. iii. viii.

among them, and perform in their towns, the same good work which he had executed in those of their neighbours. With this request it was not in his power to comply; but he recommended them to the care of the native priests and catechists. In the course of this journey, Mr. Gericke baptized about thirteen hundred persons; and after he left the country, the native teachers formed eighteen new congregations, and baptized two thousand seven hundred people, so that the whole number amounted to no fewer than four thousand. *(v)*

Highly as we venerate the character of Mr. Gericke, we cannot but express the strongest disapprobation of his conduct on this occasion. Had the most of these people afforded such evidence of their sincere conversion to the Christian faith as to warrant their baptism, this certainly might have ranked among the most extraordinary events in the history of the church in ancient or modern times; it might even have been considered as a kind of parallel to the day of Pentecost. But we see nothing in the account, to authorise such an exalted idea of it; and indeed we are sorry to understand, that most of these people have little knowledge of Christianity, and still less of its spirit: their chief inducement for professing themselves Christians, was a hope which they foolishly entertained, that they would then be exempted from the public burdens. *(w)*

Soon after Mr. Gericke's return from this journey, he was attacked by a fever; and though he recovered from this disorder, it was not long before he was seized with an affection in his bowels, which, after a short illness, put a period to his valuable life, October 2, 1803, in the sixty-second year of his age, and the thirty-eighth of his labours as a missionary in India. The grief which the death of this excellent man excited among all classes of people, is

(v) Religious Monitor, vol. i. p. 236. Christ. Obs. vol. iii.
(w) Transactions of the Missionary Society, vol. iii. p. 118, 100, 101, 105, 133, 140, &c.

beyond description. His gentle, meek, and humble behaviour, rendered him beloved by persons of distinguished rank, as well as by those of inferior station. Many used to style him the *Primitive Christian;* and even such as differed from him on subjects of religion, respected his character and revered his piety. Though the propagation of Christianity was the chief object of his concern, yet he encouraged as far as was in his power, the cultivation of the sciences; and he even paid a monthly salary to a Brahmin for the promotion of Indian literature. In his charities, he knew no bounds. Though he might have maintained a considerable style in his manner of living, yet he studied the utmost economy with regard to his personal expences, not, however that he might accumulate a fortune, but that he might afford relief to the poor and needy, the widow and the orphan. To his fellow missionaries, he was a most tender friend, and a kind benefactor. He never assumed the least superiority over them; but was ever the first to take upon himself the heaviest burdens, to comfort them under their trials, and to supply their wants. Being possessed of considerable property, he was accustomed, during his life, to contribute liberally to the support of his fellow missionaries; and at his death, he left to the Vepery mission, 15,000 Star Pagodas, (about £. 6,000, *Stg.*) besides the reversion of a very considerable sum and a large house, on the demise of his widow. In short, he was a burning and shining light, whose gentle rays enlightened, warmed, and enlivened all who came within the sphere of its influence. *(x)*

In 1806, the Rev. Dr. Buchanan visited the principal missionary stations on the coast of Coromandel, and has presented us with an interesting account of his journey, which we shall give nearly at full length, as containing a general view of the present state of this important mission, though how far it is correct we do not pretend to say:

(x) Christ. Obs. vol. iii. v.

" Tranquebar," says he, " was the scene of the first Protestant mission in India. There are at present three missionaries here superintending the Hindoo congregations. yesterday I visited the church built by Ziegenbalg. His body lies on one side of the altar, and that of his fellow missionary Grundler on the other. Above are the epitaphs of both, written in Latin, and engraved on plates of brass. The church was consecrated in 1718, and Ziegenbalg, and his companion died in two years after. They laid the foundation for evangelizing India, and then departed, ' having finished the work, which was given them to do.' I saw also the dwelling-house of Ziegenbalg, in the lower apartment of which the registers of the church are still kept. In these I found the name of the first Heathen baptized by him, and recorded in his own hand-writing in in the year 1707. In Ziegenbalg's church, and from the pulpit where he stood, I first heard the gospel preached to a congregation of Hindoos, in their own tongue. The missionaries told me that religion had suffered much at Tranquebar of late years, from European infidelity. French principles had corrupted the Danes, and rendered them indifferent to their own religion, and therefore hostile to the conversion of the Hindoos. ' Religion,' said they, ' flourishes more among the natives of Tanjore, and in other provinces where there are few Europeans, than here or at Madras; for we find that European example in the large towns, is the bane of Christian instruction.' One instance of hostility to the mission they mentioned, as having occurred only a few weeks before my arrival. In July 1756, the native Christians at Tranquebar celebrated a Jubilee, in commemoration of the fiftieth year since the Christian ministers brought the Bible from Europe. The present year being the second fiftieth, preparations were made at Tranquebar for the second Jubilee; but French principles preponderating, the government would not give it any public support; in consequence of which the Jubilee was not observed with that solemnity which was intended.

But in other places, where there were few Europeans, it was celebrated by the native Christians with enthusiasm and every demonstration of joy. When I expressed my astonishment at this hostility, the aged missionary, Dr. John, said, 'I have always remarked that the disciples of Voltaire are the true enemies of missions, and that the enemies of missions are in general, the disciples of Voltaire.'

On my entering the province of Tanjore, I stopped an hour at a village near the road; and there I first heard the name of Swartz pronounced by a Hindoo. When I arrived at the capital, I waited on major Blackburne, the British resident at the court of Tanjore, who informed me that the Rajah had appointed the next day at twelve o'clock to receive my visit. On the same day I went to a place called *Swartz's Garden*, where the Rev. Mr. Kolhoff resides. It is close to the Christian village. Mr. Kolhoff is the worthy successor of Mr. Swartz; and with him I found the Rev. Dr. John and Mr. Horst, two other missionaries who were there on a visit.

Next day I visited the Rajah of Tanjore, in company with major Blackburne. When the first ceremonial was over, the Rajah conducted us to the grand saloon, which was adorned with the portraits of his ancestors; and immediately led me up to the portrait of Mr. Swartz. He then discoursed for a considerable time concerning 'that good man,' whom he revered as 'his father and guardian.' The Rajah speaks and writes English very intelligibly. I smiled to see Swartz's picture amongst these Hindoo kings, and thought with myself that there are many who would think such a combination scarcely possible. I then addressed the Rajah, and thanked him, in the name of the Christians in Europe and in India, for his kindness to the late Mr. Swartz, and to his successors, and particularly for his recent acts of benevolence to the Christians residing within his provinces. The missionaries had just informed me that the Rajah had erected a college for Hindoos, Mahommedans, and Christians; in which provision was made for the instruction of fifty Christian children.

Last Sunday was an interesting day to me, at Tanjore. It being rumoured that a friend of the late Mr. Swartz had arrived, the people assembled from all quarters. On Sunday three sermons were preached in three different languages. At eight o'clock we proceeded to the church built by Mr. Swartz within the fort. From Mr. Swartz's pulpit I preached in English, from Mark xiii. 10. 'And the gospel must first be published among all nations.' The English gentlemen here attended, civil and military, with the missionaries, catechists, and British soldiers. After this service was ended, the congregation of Hindoos assembled in the same church, and filled the aisles and porches. The Tamul service commenced with some forms of prayer in which all the congregation joined with great fervour. A chapter of the Bible was then read, and a hymn of Luther's sung. After a short extempore prayer, during which the whole congregation knelt on the floor, the Rev. Dr. John delivered an animated discourse in the Tamul language, from these words, 'Jesus stood and cried, saying, If any man thirst let him come to me and drink.' As Mr. Whitfield, on his first going to Scotland, was surprised at the rustling of the leaves of the Bible, which took place immediately on his pronouncing his text, (so different from any thing he had seen in his own country,) so I was surprised here at the sound of the iron pen engraving the palmyra leaf. Many persons had their oles in their hands writing the sermon in Tamul shorthand. Mr. Kolhoff assured me that some of the elder students and catechists will not lose a word of the preacher if he speaks deliberately. This aptitude of the people to record the words of the preacher, renders it peculiarly necessary 'that the priest's lips should keep knowledge.' An old rule of the mission is, that the sermon of the morning should be read to the schools in the evening, by the catechist, from his palmyra leaf.

There is another custom among them which pleased me much. In the midst of the discourse the preacher sometimes puts a question to the congregation, who answer it;

without hesitation, in one voice. The object is to keep their attention awake, and the minister generally prompts the answer himself. Thus, suppose that he is saying, 'My dear brethren, it is true that your profession of the faith of Christ is attended with some reproach, and that you have lost your cast with the Brahmins. But your case is not peculiar. The man of the world is the man of cast in Europe: and he despises the humble and devout disciple of Christ, even as your Brahmin contemns the Sooder. But thus it hath been from the beginning. Every faithful Christian must lose cast for the gospel; even as Christ himself, the Forerunner, made himself of no reputation, and was despised and rejected of men. In like manner, you will be despised; but be of good cheer, and say, Though we have lost our cast and inheritance amongst men, we shall receive in heaven a new name and a better inheritance, through Jesus Christ our Lord.' He then adds, 'What, my beloved brethren, shall you obtain in heaven?' They answer, 'A new name and a better inheritance, through Jesus Christ our Lord.' It is impossible for a stranger not to be affected with this scene. This custom was introduced by Ziegenbalg, who proved its use by long experience.

After the sermon was ended, I returned with the missionaries into the vestry or library of the church. Here I was introduced to the elders and catechists of the congregation. Among others came Sattianaden, the Hindoo preacher, one of whose sermons was published in England some years ago, by the Society for promoting Christian Knowledge. He is now advanced in years, and his black locks have grown gray. As I returned from the church, I saw the Christian families going back in crowds to the country, and the boys looking at their oles. What a contrast, thought I, is this to the scene at Juggernaut!* Here there is becoming dress, humane affections, and rational discourse. Here

* Dr. Buchanan had visited the temple of Juggernaut in Orissa, in his way to the south of India.

I see no skulls, no self-torture, no self-murder, no dogs and vultures tearing human flesh! Here the Christian virtues are found in exercise by the feeble-minded Hindoo, in a vigour and purity which will surprise those who have never known the native character but under the greatest disadvantages, as in Bengal. It certainly surprised myself; and when I reflected on the moral conduct, upright dealing, decent dress, and decorous manners of the native Christians of Tanjore, I found in my breast a new evidence of the peculiar excellence and benign influence of the Christian faith.

At four o'clock in the afternoon, we attended divine service at the chapel in the Mission Garden, out of the Fort. The Rev. Mr. Horst preached in the Portuguese language. The organ here accompanied the voice in singing. I sat on a granite stone which covered the grave of Swartz. The epitaph is in English verse, written by the present Rajah, and signed by him, 'Serfogee.' In the evening Mr. Kolhoff presided at the exercise in the schools: on which occasion the Tamul sermon was repeated; and the boys' oles examined.

In consequence of my having expressed a wish to hear Sattianaden preach, Mr. Kolhoff had given notice that there would be divine service on the Monday. Accordingly the chapel in Swartz's Garden was crowded at an early hour. Sattianaden delivered his discourse in the Tamul language, with much natural eloquence, and with visible effect. His subject was the 'Marvellous Light.' He first described the Pagan darkness, then the light of Ziegenbalg, then the light of Swartz, and then the heavenly light, 'when there shall be no more need of the light of the sun, or of the moon.' In quoting a passage from Scripture, he desired a lower minister to read it, listening to it as to a record; and then proceeded to the illustration. The responses by the audience were more frequently called for than in the former discourse. After the sermon, I went up to Sattianaden, and the old Christians who had

known Swartz came around us. They were anxious to hear something of the progress of Christianity in the north of India. They said they had heard good news from Bengal. I told them the news were good, but that Bengal was exactly a hundred years behind Tanjore.

I have had long conversations with the missionaries relating to the present circumstances of the Tanjore mission. It is in a languishing state at this moment, in consequence of the war on the continent of Europe. Two of its sources have dried up, the Royal college of Copenhagen, and the Orphan-house at Halle, in Germany. Their remaining resource from Europe is the stipend of the Society for promoting Christian Knowledge; whom they never mention but with emotions of gratitude and affection. But this supply is by no means commensurate with the increasing number of their churches and schools. The chief support of the mission is derived from itself. Mr. Swartz had in his lifetime acquired considerable property, through the kindness of the English government and of the native princes. When he was dying, he said, 'Let the cause of Christ be my heir.' When his colleague, the pious Mr. Gericke, was departing, he also bequeathed his property to the mission. And now Mr. Kolhoff gives from his private funds an annual sum; not that he can well afford it, but the mission is so extended, that he gives it, he told me, to preserve the new and remote congregations in existence.*

* The missionaries on the coast of Coromandel, particularly those at Tranquebar, who depended chiefly for their support on supplies from Denmark and Germany, have of late years suffered very materially from the want of funds. Could not something be done in Great Britain for their support? Or might not the London Missionary Society, or the Church Missionary Society, employ, with great advantage, a portion of their funds in behalf of the Coromandel, or at least of the Tranquebar mission, which has been reduced to the greatest distress on account of the state of the continent of late years, while the other stations have suffer-

Before I left the capital of Tanjore, the Rajah was pleased to honour me with a second audience. On his occasion he presented to me a portrait of himself, a very striking likeness, painted by a Hindoo artist at the Tanjore court. The missionary, Dr. John, accompanied me to the palace. The Rajah received him with much kindness, and presented to him a piece of gold cloth. Of the resident missionary Mr. Kolhoff, whom the Rajah sees frequently, he spoke to me in terms of high approbation. This cannot be very agreeable to the Brahmins; but the Rajah, though he still professes the Hindoo religion, is no longer obedient to the dictate of the Brahmins, and they are compelled to admit his superior attainments in knowledge. I thought I saw the image of Swartz in his successor. Mr Kolhoff is a man of great simplicity of manners, of meek deportment, and of ardent zeal in the cause of revealed religion, and of humanity. He walked with me through the Christian village close to his house; and I was much pleased to see the affectionate respect of the people towards him; the young people of both sexes coming forward from the doors on both sides, salute him and receive his benediction.*

ed less, as they are under the patronage of the Society for promoting Christian Knowledge. It is certainly of as much importance to support old establishments as to send out new missions. W. B.

* That I may give to those who are interested in the promotion of Christianity in the East, a more just view of the character of Swartz's successor, the Rev. Mr. Kolhoff, I shall subjoin an extract of a letter which I have since received from the Rev. Mr. Horst:

'The Rev. Mr. Kolhoff is sometimes rather weak, on account of so many and various cares that assail him without ceasing. He provides for the wants of this and the southern missions, (Tritchinapoly excepted,) by disbursing annually upwards of one thousand pagodas, (about £250 *Stg.*) out of his private purse, partly to make up the difference between the income and expenditure of this and the southern mission, and partly in assisting the deserving poor, without regard to religion; and for various pious uses. To him,

Leaving Tanjore, I passed through the woods inhabited by the Collaries, or thieves, now humanized by Christianity, and proceeded to Tritchinapoly.

The first church built by Swartz is at this place. It is called Christ's church, and is a large building, capable of containing perhaps two thousand people. The aged missionary, the Rev. Mr. Pohle, presides over this church, and over the native congregations at this place. Christianity flourishes ; but I found that here, as at other places, there is a famine of Bibles. At this station, there are about a thousand English troops. Mr. Pohle, being a German, does not speak English very well : but he is reverenced for his piety both by the officers and the men." *(y)*

To this interesting account by Dr. Buchanan, we shall only add a few other observations. Some years ago, the number of missionaries on the coast of Coromandel amounted to nine, namely, three at Tranquebar, supported by the Royal Mission college at Copenhagen, and the directors at the

(y) Buchanan's Christian Researches, p. 61.

as arbitrator and father, apply all Christians that are at variance, disturbed from without or from within, out of service or distressed; for most of our Christians will do any thing rather than go to law.

All these heterogeneous, but, to a missionary at Tanjore, unavoidable avocations, joined to the ordinary duties of his station, exercise his mind early and late ; and if he be not of a robust constitution, will undermine his health at last.—Happily, several neighbouring churches and new congregations, belonging to the missions of Tanjore, afford Mr. Kolhoff frequent opportunities to relax his mind, and to recruit his health and spirits, by making occasional short excursions to see these new Christians, who were professed thieves only a few years ago, and many of them are now an honour to the Christian profession, and industrious peasants. It is pleasing to behold the anxiety with which a great number of our Christian children inquire at such times when their *father* will return ; and how they run several miles to meet him with shouts and clapping of hands, and hymns of thanks to God, as soon as they discern his palankeen at a distance.'

Orphan house at Halle, in Saxony; two at the Vepery near Madras, three at Tanjore, and one at Tritchinapoly, supported by the Society in London for promoting Christian Knowledge, who also send liberal benefactions of books, paper, &c. to the missionaries at Tranquebar. *(z)* These are the places where the missionaries chiefly resided; but they also made frequent journies through the country, and they had congregations at Cuddalore, Negapatnam, Palamcottah, and a great number of other places. Of late, however, in consequence of the death of several of their number, they have not been able to take that particular care of the more distant churches, which the nature of their situation would require. Some of these have even been left, in a great measure, destitute of the means of religious instruction. Having often written in vain for assistants from Europe, they have at length been compelled to ordain four of the catechists to the work of the ministry; but this was a measure which they adopted with much reluctance, as they had found, by experience, that even the best catechist often made but a poor priest; they were neither duly respected by their own countrymen, nor did they possess that wisdom which was necessary to guide a congregation with discretion. *(a)**

It is a circumstance not unworthy of observation, that though this mission has now existed for upwards of a century, and though during that period more than fifty missionaries have sailed from Europe, yet among the multitude of ships which have been lost, there has not been one which had a missionary on board. *(b)*

(z) Period. Acc. relative to the Baptist Mission. Soc. vol. i. p. 431.

(a) Christ. Obser. Missionary Transactions, vol. ii. p. 186.

(b) Buchanan's Christ. Res. p. 270.

* In March 1813, the Rev. C. A. Jacobi was about to leave England for India, as a missionary from the Society for promoting Christian Knowledge.

Of the number of converts at present connected with the mission on the Coromandel coast, we possess no certain information. In the year 1809, the native Christians belonging to the Tanjore mission alone, including the Tinevell district, amounted nearly to twelve thousand; but, from various circumstances, we fear that religion is at a very low ebb among them. Such, indeed, was the scarcity of Bibles in the country, that none of them, except the catechists and other teachers, had a copy of the Old Testament in their possession; and not one in two or three hundred had even the New Testament. It is stated, however, that almost all the men, particularly to the south of Tanjore, were able to read, and were extremely eager to have books. We trust that this melancholy deficiency will, in some degree, be soon supplied, as a Bible Society has lately been established at Calcutta, under the most respectable patronage, with the particular view of supplying the native Christians in the East, with the Holy Scriptures. Immediately, indeed, upon its institution, it directed an edition of the Tamul New Testament, printed at Tranquebar, to be purchased for distribution; and likewise two thousand copies of the Portuguese Bible, and five thousand Portuguese Testaments. It also contracted for the printing of an edition of five thousand New Testaments in Tamul, which, we hope, will soon be completed, and prove a seasonable relief to the poor Christians in the south of India. *(c)*

With regard to the total number of converts since the commencement of the mission, our accounts are extremely contradictory. Twenty years ago, they were stated so low as eighteen thousand; *(d)* but this, we consider, as obviously a mistake. Dr. Carey informs us, that the missionaries on the Coromandel coast, reckon about forty thousand of the natives to have embraced Christianity. *(e)* But Dr.

(c) Report of the British and Foreign Bible Society, 1811, App. 22. Ibid. 1812, p. 12, App. p. 6, 71.

(d) Per. Acc. relative to the Bap Miss. Soc. vol. i.

(e) Fuller's Apology for Christian Missions, part i. p. 25.

Buchanan says, that, from the commencement of the mission until the year 1805, a period of near a century, it was computed, that no fewer than eighty thousand of the natives, consisting of persons of all the different casts, had been converted to the faith of Christ. *(f)* Most people, it is likely, will be disposed to prefer Dr. Buchanan's statement, not only as it is the largest, but because they suppose he would obtain his information on the spot; and therefore it is proper to remark, that he gave this account before the period of his visit to the Coromandel coast. To us, indeed, Dr. Carey's estimate appears best to correspond with those facts which we have in our possession. If, however, it is below the truth, as it probably is, Dr. Buchanan's statement, we are convinced, is still farther beyond it.

Ever since the commencement of the mission, the education of youth has formed an important part of the cares and labours of the missionaries; and it is still an object of their assiduous attention. Some years ago, the number of children in the schools at Tranquebar, Tanjore, and Tritchinapoly, was no fewer than five hundred and thirty-eight, exclusive of those at Vepery and other places. Of those at Tranquebar, two hundred were clothed and supported, as well as educated; and of those at Tanjore, thirty-three were training to be catechists. *(g)*

Of late, Dr. John, who has been upwards of forty years a missionary at Tranquebar, has adopted a plan of establishing free schools in the villages throughout the neighbouring country, on the united principles of Dr. Bell and Mr. Lancaster's systems. He made a small beginning with some children, who implored admission into the Orphan house in the town, but whom it was impossible to receive, on account of the low state of the funds. Having opened a school in the nearest village, with about ten Protestant

(f) Buchanan's Memoir on the expediency of an Ecclesiastical Establishment for British India, p. 93.

(g) Christian Observer.

children of the lower class, he afterwards enlarged it for the benefit of Roman Catholics and Pagans; and, in a short time, the number of scholars increased to eighty, who were taught reading, writing, and arithmetic, by an able schoolmaster and two ushers. As the application from poor parents of all casts rapidly increased, he established another school at Bethlehem, of Sooder children, which was soon attended by about fifty. An honest Pagan having offered to keep a school according to Dr. John's regulations, and to teach reading by the printed books of the missionaries, his offer was accepted of, and, in a short time, his school was frequented by about sixty scholars; and a Christian usher was added, to teach the Protestant children the principles of religion. Dr. John proceeded, in this manner, to establish other schools on a similar plan, both in the town of Tranquebar and in the neighbouring country. Even the Brahmins thought it an advantage to have their children instructed in reading, writing, and cyphering, at these seminaries, as in the ordinary schools they were, in general, so miserably taught, that few could read their own language with facility. To avoid all suspicion that he intended to obtrude the Christian religion on the scholars, Dr. John made known to the teachers and the parents, that the design of these schools wa merely to teach reading, writing, and arithmetic, by a shorter and more easy method than was common. But though religion forms no proper branch of instruction in these seminaries, it may be hoped that they will contribute to promote the progress of Christianity in the country, especially as certain moral and descriptive passages from the Holy Scriptures are read in them, as well as selections from the moral and descriptive writings of the Hindoos. (*h*)

(*h*) John on Indian Civilization, p. 20, 25.

SECTION II.

GREENLAND.

IN 1708, Mr. Hans Egede, soon after he was settled in the ministry, at a place called Vogen in the northern part of Norway, recollected that he had read of some colonies of his countrymen, who had emigrated to Greenland some ages before,* but of whom nothing was now ever heard. Prompted by curiosity, he made inquiries at a friend in Bergen, who had often been on the whale fishery, concerning the present state of Greenland, and in consequence of the information he obtained, he began to feel a deep concern for his poor countrymen, whom he supposed still resident in that cold inhospitable region, and who, he apprehended, had now relapsed into all the horrors of Paganism. Revolving these ideas in his mind, he thought it was the duty of every Norwegian to search out his forlorn countrymen, to rescue them from the ignorance into which they had fallen, and to convert them again to the Christian faith. Such musings insensibly gave birth to a desire in his bosom, to become the instrument of so great and good a work. But this at first appeared neither expedient nor practicable. He was already settled in the ministry; he had a prospect of usefulness in his present situation; and besides, he had a wife and family, together with some other relations for whom to provide. He therefore endeavoured to banish the idea from his mind, but the more he strove the more his uneasiness increased. On the one hand, a sense of duty urged him

* The Norwegians settled in Greenland early in the eleventh century. We have a list of their bishops for about three hundred years afterwards; but since the beginning of the fifteenth century, little or nothing has been heard of them. Many ruins of churches, however, are still found in the country. Crantz's *History of Greenland*, vol. i. p. 249, 252, 264, 291, 293.

forward to the undertaking; on the other, not only the trouble and danger of the attempt, but an apprehension of his own presumption, deterred him from it. *(a)*

He at length thought of addressing a humble memorial for the conversion of the Greenlanders, to some individuals of superior rank and influence; but he was apprehensive, that the proposal of so important an undertaking by so insignificant a person would meet with little or no attention, and that there could be no hope of its being carried into execution at that time, on account of the war in which Denmark was then involved with Sweden, and the scarcity of money which this had occasioned in the country. In 1710, however, he ventured to send a copy of his memorial to the bishop of Bergen, the port from which the trade with Greenland was chiefly carried on, and to the bishop of Drontheim, to whose diocese he belonged, intreating them, at the same time, to further and support at court his proposal for the conversation of the Greenlanders, with all their power and influence. Both the bishops answered his letter the following year, applauded his zeal, and promised to employ their utmost exertions in forwarding his plan; but they, at the same time, warned him of the many and formidable difficulties which would attend the execution of it. *(b)*

The whole plan had hitherto lain concealed in embryo in his own bosom; but this epistolary correspondence brought it to light, and proved the occasion of no small trouble to him. It soon reached the ears of his friends, who raised a mighty outcry against him, and instigated his wife and family to divert him from so wild and preposterous an enterprize, as they were pleased to call it. He was so far overcome, indeed, by the tears and entreaties of his relations, that he endeavoured to abandon all further thoughts of it, thinking he had already done his utmost, and that it was in vain to strive against the stream. But while he was indulging in

(a) Crantz's History of Greenland, vol. i. p. 279.
(b) Ibid. vol. i. p. 280.

these views, his conscience was forcibly struck with these words of our Lord, in the tenth chapter of Matthew: "Whosoever loveth father or mother more than me, is not worthy of me; and he that loveth son or daughter more than me, is not worthy of me; and he that taketh not his cross and followeth after me, is not worthy of me." He was now thrown into a state of such violent perturbation, that he had no peace neither night nor day, nor was there any thing in the world that could set his mind at rest. Meanwhile, a combination of troubles and slight persecutions so disgusted his wife with the place of their present residence, that she became anxious to leave it, and was even willing to accompany him to the inhospitable shores of Greenland. Having thus obtained her consent, Mr. Egede now thought he had vanquished all his difficulties, and immediately addressed a memorial to the college of Missions established in Copenhagen, and entreated the bishops of Bergen and Drontheim to forward his design with all their power and influence. But they in reply thought fit to advise him to wait with patience, for more pacific and more propitious times. *(c)*

In this manner Mr. Egede was disappointed year after year; but disappointment was not his only trial: He had also to endure the scoffs and reproaches of the world, which is ever ready to censure and condemn those great and generous undertakings which transcend its own narrow selfish spirit. In 1715, he therefore thought himself under the necessity of drawing up a vindication of his own character and conduct. Notwithstanding this, however, many still attempted to divert him from his purpose, urging not only the dangers of the voyage, the severity of the climate, the frenzy of relinquishing a certain for an uncertain livelihood, and even the cruelty of bringing his wife and children into such perilous circumstances; but some, with singular consistency, reproached him with worldly motives, as if he sought to aggrandise himself and his family, under the

(c) Crantz's Hist. Green. vol. i. p. 281.

specious pretence of promoting the glory of God and the salvation of souls, because his present benefice was not so good as he desired. *(d)*

Apprehending that his memorial was not duly attended to, Mr. Egede determined to go and prosecute the object of it in person. He accordingly wrote to his bishop, that he intended to resign his charge, but that he would expect some annual pension from his successor, until he was provided for in Greenland or in some other quarter. But as no person would accept of his benefice on such conditions, he relinquished it, of his own accord, in 1718. When he came, however, to take farewell of his congregation, and of many kind friends whom he loved, he felt a struggle within him; and now his wife, instead of fainting in the day of trial, was obliged to animate and strengthen him in his purpose. Meanwhile a report was spread abroad, that a vessel belonging to Bergen had been wrecked on the coast of Greenland, and that the crew on making to land, were not only murdered, but devoured by the savages. Nor was this frightful tale altogether without foundation; yet it did not deter him or his heroic wife from prosecuting their journey, with four young children, to the port of Bergen, with the view of working their way to that cold inhospitable country. *(e)*

On their arrival at Bergen, Mr. Egede was gazed upon as a kind of monster in human form. The most of people considered him as a madman and a fanatic, whom nothing but pretended dreams and revelations could induce to desert his employment at home, and to wander up and down the world like a knight errant in search of adventures. Some few, however, attended to his proposals relative to a trade with Greenland; but as the commerce of Bergen with that country had of late been ruined, in

(d) Crantz's Hist. Green. vol. i. p. 282.
(e) Ibid vol. i. p. 282.

consequence of so many nations having entered into it, no person appeared disposed to engage in it, at least while the war with Sweden lasted. But as, through the unexpected fall of Charles the Twelfth, there were hopes of a speedy peace, Mr. Egede seized this auspicious moment, repaired to Copenhagen in person, and presented his memorial to the college of Missions. He was soon after informed, that his majesty Frederick the Fourth would consider of some means for the accomplishment of so laudable an object, and the king even did him the honour of conversing with him on the subject of his proposals. *(f)*

Animated by the encouragement he had received, Mr. Egede returned to Bergen, cheerful and happy. An order from his majesty was soon after transmitted to the magistrates of that city, commanding them to examine and collect the views of all the commercial people who had been in Davis' Straits, concerning the trade with Greenland, the planting a colony in that country, and the privileges which the settlers would require. But, alas! there was no one who had any inclination to engage in such an undertaking: They all represented the voyage as so hazardous, and the country as so inhospitable, that good Mr. Egede and all his plans were treated with scorn and contempt. Still, however, he did not despair. What could not be effected under the auspices of the sovereign, he now attempted to accomplish by his own individual interest with some private merchants. He, at length, persuaded several of them to unite together for this purpose, and a respectable merchant belonging to Hamburgh offered to join them with a considerable sum: but the latter withdrew, soon after, from the adventure; and as the privileges demanded by the company were not approved of by his majesty, no person would hear another word from Mr. Egede about Greenland; and this worthy man was obliged to put up with

(f) Cranz's Hist. Green. vol. i. p. 283.

the mockery and slander of evil tongues as the reward of all his labours. *(g)*

But notwithstanding these difficulties and disappointments, which must have damped the ardour of any ordinary mind, Mr. Egede did not desist from his purpose. Happily he at last prevailed on some upright men, who were touched to the heart by his disinterested and indefatigable zeal, to consent, at least, to a conference on the subject; and, by means of his representations, his remonstrances, and his entreaties, he persuaded them to raise a capital in shares of about £40 each, while he himself deposited £60. He immediately drew up an instrument, which he presented to the bishop and the clergy of Bergen, and also to several of the merchants, who having made some additions to these sums, the whole, at length, amounted to about £2,000. Even this, however, was not equal to the expence of the undertaking; but yet Mr. Egede determined to make the attempt, without further delay. With this view a ship was purchased to carry him and the other settlers to Greenland, and to remain in that country during the winter: Two other vessels were also freighted, one for the whale fishery, the other to bring back an account of the colony. Meanwhile, he was informed by the college of Missions, that his majesty most graciously approved of the undertaking, and had appointed him a salary of £60 *per annum*, and also a present of £40 to assist in his equipment. Thus, after a patient struggle of no less than thirteen years, Mr. Egede had now the prospect of carrying his plan into execution *(h)*

Having completed the preparations which were necessary, Mr. Egede sailed from Bergen in May 1721, on board the ship Hope, together with his wife, his four children, and a number of other persons as settlers. On reaching the Greenland seas, they met with so much stormy weather, and

(g) Crantz's Hist. Green. vol. i. p. 283.
(h) Ibid. vol. i. p. 284.

vast quantities of ice, that the captain, in despair, was almost induced to return. After driving about for near three weeks longer, they discovered an opening in the ice, and ventured into it; but they had not proceeded far, when they found that the ice stretched along the whole coast, and allowed of no further passage. They, therefore, endeavoured to escape from amongst it, and to run out into the open sea; but the attempt was vain, for the wind was contrary as well as stormy. Destruction now seemed inevitable. The ship which followed them, had already struck on the ice and sprung a leak; and though they had stopped it with pieces of their clothes, yet as the tempest was still increasing, they apprehended that both the vessels would soon be dashed to pieces on the ice. To increase their alarm, there was such a thick fog, during the whole day, that they could see nothing before them; but yet they were surprised to find, that the ship gradually gained more and more room; and, when the mist disappeared after midnight, the quantity of ice was so inconsiderable, that they could scarcely believe they had been in such imminent danger. The same storm which threatened them with destruction had delivered them from the ice; but this circumstance had escaped their notice, owing to the thickness of the fog. *(i)*

In the beginning of July, they landed in Greenland at Ball's river, in sixty-four degrees north latitude, and immediately on their arrival, they began to build a house on an island near Kangek, which they called, after the name of the ship, Hope-island. The Greenlanders, at first, appeared very friendly to them; but when they perceived, by the preparations for building, that their visitors designed to settle in the country, they left that district, nor would they harbour any of them when they came among them. This shyness, however, wore off by degrees; the savages were so far reconciled by presents and friendly treatment, that they

(i) Crantz's Hist. Green. vol. i. p. 285.

began to entertain such of the colonists as visited them, though still they would not allow them to enter their houses, but made room for them in some small hut by themselves, and stationed a guard over them during the night. Their jealousy and fears were at length still further removed, and they began to receive them into their dwellings, and even occasionally to return their visits. *(k)*

Being now settled in Greenland, Mr. Egede was anxious to learn the language of the country; and as soon as he knew the word *Kina*, which signifies *What is this?* he asked the name of every thing he saw, and wrote it down. Observing that one of the savages called Arok, had a particular attachment to one of his people called Aaron, on account of the similarity of their names, he, one day, left this man among them, that he might learn the language and enquire into the state of the country. When Mr. Egede was coming away, they cried after him, giving him to understand, that he had forgotten one of his people; but he feigned as if he neither saw nor heard them. After several days, some of the savages brought word that Aaron was well, but begged he might be taken away, as they were very suspicious of him. They were prevailed on, however, by some presents, to allow him to remain with them during the winter; but yet, for their own security, they took his gun from him; and on one occasion, when they had stolen some articles from him, they fell to blows, and beat him most unmercifully. They soon endeavoured, however, by kind and friendly treatment, to make up matters again, and they begged him not to inform the minister of their conduct, lest he should punish them for it. Mr. Egede accordingly behaved as if he knew nothing of the affair; and on visiting them, he even left another of the colonists with them. *(l)*

The Greenlanders were, at first, much afraid of Mr. Egede in particular, and employed many of their Angekoks or

(k) Crantz's Hist. Green. vol. i. p. 286.
(l) Ibid vol. i. p. 287.

sorcerers to conjure him and his people, with the view of doing them mischief, and obliging them to quit the country. But the conjurors finding that all their arts were of no avail, reported that the minister himself was a great and a good Angekok, who would do them no harm. To this many of the savages gave the more credit, as they saw how he preached to his own people, and how all of them treated him with particular respect. *(m)*

Agreeably to the chief design of the undertaking, Mr. Egede began early to instruct the Greenlanders in the principles of Christianity; but he found it extremely difficult to carry on conversation with them, especially to make the truths of religion level to their comprehension. With the view therefore of facilitating his labours, he employed his eldest son to draw pictures of certain scripture facts. By exhibiting these to the savages, he not only made them understand his meaning more readily, but by exciting them to ask questions concerning them, he, in return, learned their language more completely. Among the facts which he represented to them, in this manner, those which seemed chiefly to rouse their attention, were the resurrection of the dead, and the miracles of our Saviour, particularly his healing the sick and raising the dead. By degrees, the number of those increased who wished to hear the deeds of him who made heaven and earth, and who could perform such wonderous works; and as they considered Mr. Egede as the ambassador of the Mighty God of whom he spoke, they desired him to heal their sick, by blowing on them, like the Angekoks. On one occasion they brought a blind man to him, that he might restore him to sight, by touching his eyes; nay, they once conducted him to a grave, and besought him to raise the dead. *(n)*

The aspect of the trade was at first extremely unpromising. The Greenlanders possessed but few articles of traffic,

(m) Crantz's Hist. of Green. vol. i. p. 287.
(n) Ibid. vol. i. p. 287, 294.

and what little they had, they did not choose to barter with the Danes, as they had been accustomed for many years to dispose of it to the Dutch, who knew the commodities most acceptable in Greenland, and could afford them at a cheaper rate. In the spring of 1722, a fleet of Dutch ships sailed past the colony, and the Danes were mortified to see one of them which ran in, buy more in half an hour than they had been able to do during the whole winter.

Meanwhile the stores of the colonists began to fail, a circumstance which materially aggravated their distress. Having imagined the Greenland fishery and hunting a more abundant source of supply than was consistent with fact, they had brought with them but a small quantity of provisions. Even before the end of the year they began to be pinched for want, and many of them were attacked with that dreadful disorder the scurvy. They now murmured against Mr. Egede, for leading them to so cold inhospitable a region; and, as the store-ship was longer of making its appearance in the spring than was expected, they determined, to a man, to leave the country in the vessel that had wintered with them. Poor Mr. Egede was now reduced to inconceivable perplexity and distress. On the one hand, his conscience would not suffer him to desert a post which he had attained with so much difficulty, and after the labour of so many years, especially as the prospect of the conversion of the Greenlanders seemed encouraging. On the other, he could not stay alone with his wife and four young children, only to see them perish of hunger, or to be murdered by the savages. He at length persuaded the colonists to wait till the end of June for the arrival of the ship, and if it did not make its appearance by that time, and they were still determined to quit the country, that they should leave some part of the provisions which remained. On these conditions, he prevailed with six of the men to stop with him; but when they saw that the stores which were left would scarcely be sufficient for half a year, they gave him to understand, that, in case of necessity, they would take refuge in a Dutch ship,

and sail homeward. In consequence of this, Mr. Egede was compelled to take the bitter heart-rending resolution of returning with the vessel which brought him to Greenland; but now his wife, with all the magnanimity of a Christian hero, stood forward, and resisted his design. She displayed such astonishing constancy and courage, as put his incredulity to the blush, and inspired him with fresh energy and zeal. She not only refused to pack up her goods, but reprimanded the others when they began to demolish their habitations, telling them not to occasion any unnecessary trouble, for she was confident the ship would soon arrive in safety. At length, only three or four days before the period fixed for their departure, the vessel destined for their relief, arrived, and brought them the most encouraging accounts, with regard both to the mission and the colony. The merchants at Bergen wrote Mr. Egede, that they were resolved to prosecute the trade, notwithstanding its present unpromising appearance; and the college of Missions informed him, that his majesty was determined to support the mission to the utmost of his power, and that, for this purpose, he had imposed a small contribution on all his subjects both in Denmark and Norway, which, as might be expected, had produced a handsome sum. *(o)*

Encouraged by these assurances, Mr. Egede's drooping spirits were reanimated, and he resolved to spare no pains in prosecuting the great object of his mission. With this view, he took up his residence for a season among the savages, accompanied by his two little boys; and though the stench and vermin which prevailed among them were at first extremely noisome, yet to this and other inconveniences he cheerfully submitted, in the hope of acquiring some knowledge of the country, and of initiating his sons in the language, by their intercourse with the Greenland children. *(p)*

(o) Crantz's Hist. Green. vol. i. p. 288.
(p) Ibid. vol. i. p. 289.

In the course of the winter, several of the Greenlanders took up their residence with him; and though he perceived it was merely for the sake of obtaining a livelihood, yet he readily received them into his family, with the view of instructing their children, and of learning their language. No sooner, however, was the severity of the winter, past, than they removed their quarters; and even two young boys, whom he had engaged to live constantly with him, stole away privately one after another. During their stay with him, he had endeavoured to wean these youths from their roving habits, and to instruct them in reading and writing, as well as in the principles of religion. At first they went on briskly, because they had a fish hook, or some similar article, for every letter they learned; but they soon grew weary of the employment, and said, They knew not of what use it was to sit all day, looking at a piece of paper, and crying A, B, C, &c.; that he and the factor were idle worthless fellows, for they did nothing but look on a book, or scrawl on paper with a feather; whereas the Greenlanders were brave men, they could hunt seals, and shoot birds, and catch fish, from which they derived both profit and pleasure. *(q)*

In the summer of 1723, Mr. Albert Top arrived in Greenland, as a colleague to Mr. Egede; and on obtaining an assistant in his labours, that indefatigable man proceeded in the work of instructing the savages with fresh energy and zeal. Having translated, as well as he was able, some short questions concerning the creation of the world, the fall of man, the plan of redemption, the resurrection of the dead, and the day of judgment, the missionaries read these to them, until by hearing them several times, the savages learned to repeat them. At first, they listened to them willingly; but when the exercise recurred too often, they manifested an aversion to it, especially if they wished to go to sea, or had any diversion in view. Indeed, if a conjuror happened

(q) Crantz's Hist. Green. vol. i. p. 290.

to be present, and practised his vile incantations, no devotion could then go forward; and if the missionaries continued to read on, the savages mocked and burlesqued them, or even reproached them with lying, because said they, the Angekoks, when they were in heaven, had seen no traces of the Son of God, neither did they find the firmament so out of repair, as to be in danger of falling, referring, no doubt, to what had been told them concerning the end of the world. After many expostulations of a rough as well as of a friendly nature, they were prevailed on to listen to the reading with some degree of patience; they did not at least treat it with mockery as formerly, nor did they beat their drums during the singing. Even when the missionaries attended their great assemblies of diversion, with the view of instructing them, they did not immediately disperse, provided their amusements were not completely stopped; but they used to listen a while, and some of them even professed that now they believed all that was said concerning God, because, after praying to him for seals, they were very successful in catching them. It is worthy of notice, that the immortality of the soul was a favourite doctrine with the Greenlanders. It pleased them to hear, that the spirit did not die with the body; that they would be united again at the resurrection; that they would no more be subject to sickness or sorrow; and that friends and relations would meet together in another and a better world. But though they manifested great curiosity on many subjects, yet when any particular topic was stated to them several times, and they did not understand it, they grew tired of it, and desired to hear something that was new, professing that they already believed all that had been told them. On other occasions, when the weather was bad, they were often very troublesome and petulant, ascribed it to the reading and praying, because they very philosophically supposed, that the air was irritated by these exercises. Sometimes they also imputed it to the credit which they gave to the missionaries; and sometimes to their neglect of the prescriptions of the Angekoks, in

abstaining from certain kinds of food and employments. If Mr. Egede, therefore, wished them to believe him any more, he must first procure them, by his prayers, fine weather, and plenty of seals, birds, and fishes. If he exhorted them to pray, they answered, "We do pray, but it signifies nothing." If he told them, they should ask chiefly for spiritual and heavenly blessings, they replied, "These we neither understand nor desire. We want nothing but healthy bodies, and seals to eat, and the Angekoks can procure us these." If he spoke to them concerning the day of judgment, and the misery of the wicked in hell, they refused to hear him, or they said, that the Angekoks knew hell better; and even if it was so hot as he represented it, there was water enough in the sea to cool it; or they alleged, the heat would no more than compensate them for the cold they had suffered on earth. If he endeavoured to convince them of the impositions of their Angekoks, that they had never seen them go either to heaven or to hell; they retorted the question, and asked, Whether he had ever seen God, of whom he talked so much? In short, it was extremely difficult to correct their mistaken and distorted views, or to prevent them from drawing false and sinister conclusions from whatever he taught them. *(r)*

Besides labouring for the conversion of the Greenlanders, Mr. Egede exerted himself to the utmost of his power, in promoting the temporal interests of the colony, being sensible, that the existence of the mission might ultimately depend on the success of the trade. With this view, he undertook many long and hazardous voyages, in the course of which he suffered no small hardships, and was often even in danger of his life. But notwithstanding his utmost exertions, the trade proved so unsuccessful, that, in 1727, the Company at Bergen relinquished the undertaking. Such, however, was the zeal of his majesty, that though the aspect of the colony

(r) Crantz's Hist. Green. vol. i. p. 296, 298.

and the mission was so gloomy, he graciously engaged to carry on the commerce himself; and as Mr. Top, after labouring four years in Greenland, was now obliged to return home on account of his health, two other missionaries, Messrs. Olaus Lange and Henry Milzoug, were sent to join Mr. Egede, the following year. At the same time, new and more vigorous measures were taken to extend both the trade and the mission. Four or five ships, one of which was a man of war, came out with materials for erecting a new colony and a fortress, together with cannon and ammunition, and a garrison of soldiers, under the command of major Paars as governor, and captain Landorph as commandant, who were not only to defend the trade, but such of the Greenlanders as might desire their protection from certain vessels, which basely robbed them of their whalebone and blubber. Besides these, there were a considerable number of artificers, as masons, carpenters, &c. some of whom came voluntarily, others were taken out of confinement, and sent to cultivate the ground. The officers brought horses with them, to ride over the mountains, and explore the country; and one of the ships was ordered to make a new attempt to land on the eastern shore. *(s)*

Immediately on the arrival of these new settlers, they began to make preparations for removing the colony from Hope-island to the mainland, about four leagues further eastward. But a most dreadful disorder now broke out among them, which Mr. Egede ascribed to their irregularity of life, and the want of exercise, as a few of the sailors, or the old colonists, who had constant employment, were attacked by it. The artificers, with others of the most useful settlers, died apace; while many of the survivors, when they saw that Greenland was no land of Canaan, became fretful, discontented, and troublesome; a mutiny broke forth among the soldiers, and threatened the life both of the governor and the missionary, so that they were obliged to have recourse

(s) Crantz's Hist. Green. vol. i. p. 296, 307.

to a guard. Thus Mr. Egede, who used to sleep secure in the tents of savages, was under the necessity of having a watch around his bed, to protect him from his own countrymen. It is not unworthy of observation, that the Greenlanders by no means relished this great accession of foreigners, especially of a military force. Afterwards when they beheld them dying so fast, they ascribed it to the arts of a celebrated conjuror, who had promised to destroy them by his magic. But finding they did not all die, particularly Mr. Egede, whom they considered as the lord of the others, most of them removed from that quarter of the country. Such was the effect of fortresses and a military force; the mission was more impeded than promoted by them. *(t)*

Had Mr. Egede been ambitious of baptizing a number of Heathens, he might have procured them without difficulty; for many of the Greenlanders asked him to baptize them, and when he declined it, wondered how he should doubt the sincerity of their faith and love to God. But notwithstanding their frequent professions of believing all he told them, and their liberal promises of continuing to hear and believe more, there was in most of them no appearance of any change of heart or life. Indeed he often discovered, with sorrow, that the whole was pure hypocrisy, the effect of interest or fear; for, in his absence, these very persons treated his singing, reading, and praying, with derision and contempt, yet, if they were called in question for their conduct, they again feigned the greater devotion. But though he despaired of effecting any thing among the adult Greenlanders, unless perhaps gaining their cold assent to the truths of religion, he entertained better hopes of the young people. He now, indeed, proceeded to baptize the children of those who gave such an assent, in the expectation, that the parents would remain in the neighbourhood, and allow them to be instructed in the knowledge of the gospel from their early years. He was obliged, however, to employ

(t) Crantz's Hist. Green. vol. i. p. 307, 309.

a Greenland youth named Christian Frederick, whom he had previously baptized, in teaching them, and he occasionally sent him to the islands, to read to them and their parents. He himself had little time or opportunity for making excursions among the Heathen; for though such extensive plans had been formed for the furtherance of the trade and the mission, yet the greater part of the people had died, and most of the others were now gone to establish a new colony on an island called Nepisene. *(u)*

In 1730, the whole undertaking was threatened with a mortal blow, by the death of his majesty Frederick IV. who had uniformly been its powerful friend and protector; for the new administration under his successor Christian VI. thinking there was no probability that the money expended on it so many years would ever be reimbursed by the trade, and finding so little progress was made in the conversion of the Greenlanders, transmitted an order the following year, that both of the colonies should be abandoned, and that all the settlers should return home. This mandate was like a thunderbolt to poor Mr. Egede. It was left, indeed, to his own choice, either to return with the others, or to remain in the country; and, in the latter case, he was allowed to retain as many of the people as were willing to stay, and as much provisions as would be sufficient for a year; but he was expressly informed, that he had no further assistance to expect from government. On such conditions as these, none of the colonists who could be of any use would remain with him; and thus he appeared once more under the necessity of relinquishing an undertaking in which he had engaged, notwithstanding the opposition of friends, and the ridicule of enemies; of deserting a country, where he had laboured for ten years with unwearied patience and indefatigable zeal; and of forsaking about a hundred and fifty children, whom he had baptized in the name of Christ, but who, on his departure, would in all probability relapse in the horrors of

(u) Crantz's Hist. Green. vol. i. p. 305, 309.

Paganism. Providentially, however, the ship was not large enough to carry home the whole stock of the two colonies; and, as the property that might be left behind, as well as the houses, would be in danger of falling a prey either to the Greenlanders or to foreign sailors, he prevailed on the officers to leave a few of the seamen with him, and provisions sufficient for a year. He bound himself, however, to indemnify the captain, in case he should sustain any loss in consequence of this arrangement; and he undertook to carry on the trade at his own risk, by the agency of his second son; and if no ship could come the following year, (which, however, he earnestly requested,) he promised to send home the merchandise by foreign vessels. Mr. Egede now beheld the governor, the officers, the rest of the settlers, and even his colleagues, take their departure, while he himself with a few sailors, remained behind in a cold inhospitable country, suspended for a whole year between the hope of assistance, and the fear of being abandoned for ever. To aggravate his distress, he soon after received information, that the colony at Nepisene was demolished by foreign sailors, and all the remaining property burnt. *(v)*

After the departure of the colonists, Mr. Egede suspended the baptism of the Greenland children, both as he was uncertain how long he might remain in the country, to take charge of their Christian education, and, as he found, he had but little influence over their parents. Even before this fatal revolution, when he desired them to place one company of their children after another under his care for a month, that he might instruct them, they would by no means consent to the proposal; and when he went to visit them, they hid their children, for fear he should take them away, so that he had not an opportunity of teaching them in their own houses as before. They expressed great concern, indeed, at the departure of the colonists, and could not comprehend the reason assigned for it, namely, that so many people cost more money than they could there earn; for they thought

(v) Crantz's Hist. Green. vol. i. p. 311.

so rich a prince as the king of Denmark, who possessed such store of bread and meat in his own country, might be able to maintain a far greater number of persons, or, at all events, that they might have been content to live like the Greenlanders. And when it was further alleged as a reason for the recal of the colonists, that government had heard how little the natives regarded God and his word, they complained heavily, that they had been misrepresented to his majesty, and declared how willing they were to hear and believe all that was told them. They added, that they had given proofs how much they honoured the king, by delivering so many barrels of blubber when it was required of them. Mr. Egede, however, soon found that no dependence could be placed on their professions, for most of those whose children he had baptized, and who had promised to remain the neighbourhood, and have them educated in the Christian faith, wandered so far abroad, that he had very little hopes of their conversion. Besides, such a series of toils and hardships had brought on so severe a disorder in his breast, and had so broken his constitution, that he was no longer able to travel among them, but was obliged to resign the instruction of them to his son, as he went about trading for blubber. *(w)*

In consequence of Mr Egede's urgent representations, his majesty Christian the Sixth was pleased to send him the necessary supplies in 1732; but without giving him any assurance of further assistance or support. Meanwhile, however, the blubber trade was more successful than usual, and a larger cargo was sent home this season, than in any of the preceding years, when it was carried on with so much trouble and expence. Encouraged, probably, by this circumstance, his majesty now resolved to renew the trade to Greenland and to support the mission; and he was graciously pleased to order the sum of £400 a year to be expended for these purposes. *(x)*

(w) Crantz's Hist. Green. vol. i. p. 312.
(x) Ibid. vol. i. p. 314.

After so many storms, this intelligence appeared to afford Mr. Egede some gleam of hope, but the prospect quickly overcast, and even became darker than ever. Several Greenlanders having been taken to Denmark by the colonists when they left the country, two of them who were still alive, were sent back to their native land in the summer of 1733, as they also were unhealthy. One of them, a girl, died at sea; the other, a boy, came home to all appearance perfectly well. It was not long, however, before he was seized with an eruptive disorder, and after wandering up and down among his countrymen, he fell a victim to it. The next who was taken ill was the Greenland youth Christian Frederick, a particular favourite of Mr. Egede's, whom he employed as a kind of catechist among the other children. He could also speak the Danish language, had learned to read and write, and was even of great service to him in composing his Greenland grammar, and in translating the Sunday lessons from the Gospels. At first, no person knew the nature of the disorder, nor any remedy for it; but at length, a boy at the colony being seized with it, Mr. Egede found it was the small-pox. On making this dicsovery, he despatched an express over the whole of the neighbouring country, warning the Greenlanders of the danger, desiring them to remain in their own habitations, as those who were already infected could not escape, and advising those among whom the disease had not made its appearance to allow no strangers to visit them, lest they should bring the contagion with them. To these friendly admonitions, however, they were entirely deaf. Such as had caught the disorder, but were not yet confined by it, fled into other parts of the country, and as the Greenlanders never refuse to admit strangers, it spread with amazing rapidity in every quarter. *(y)*

As this was the first time the small-pox had made its appearance in Greenland, the inhabitants were wholly unaccustomed to it, and ignorant of the mode of treatment;

(y) Crantz's Hist. Green. vol. i, p. 333.

and being, at the same time, under a very malignant form, it committed most terrible ravages among them. Few of those who were attacked by it, lived beyond the third day: Some, in despair, stabbed themselves, or plunged into the sea to put a period to their sufferings. One man whose son died of it, stabbed his wife's sister, on the presumption that she had bewitched him to death. The colonists, for a similar reason, had no small cause of alarm, for the savages accused them as the authors of the pestilence; and in this opinion they were confirmed by the dream of an old woman, that the Greenlander Charles, who came back from Copenhagen, would murder all his countrymen. Such, indeed, was the general distress, that the living did not as usual bewail the dead, not even their nearest or dearest relations. *(z)*

The distress of the Greenlanders deeply affected Mr. Egede, and notwithstanding the enfeebled state of his own constitution, he went about from place to place, sometimes alone, and sometimes in company with certain Moravian missionaries who had lately come from Germany, or he sent his son among them in order to comfort and instruct the poor dying creatures. In most places, they found nothing but empty houses and unburied corpses, some within and some without doors, lying in the snow. On a certain island, they found only one girl, with her three little brothers, and even she was labouring under the small-pox. Their unfortunate father, after burying all the other inhabitants, laid himself together with his youngest child, who was sick, in a grave, and ordered the girl to cover them with skins and stones, that so they might not be devoured by the foxes and ravens. She and the other children were then to live on a couple of seals and some dried herrings that were left, till they should get to the colony. Besides travelling among them, Mr. Egede and the new missionaries kindly lodged all the sick who fled to them. They laid as many

(z) Crantz's Hist. Green. vol. i. p. 334.

of them in their own houses, and even in their bed-chambers, as the places would hold; and attended and nursed them as well as they were able, though the stench of the sick and the dying was so insufferable, as materially to affect their own health. Many of the poor savages were sensibly touched with these acts of kindness; and among others, one who had always derided them when he was in health, said to Mr. Egede, before his death: "Thou hast done for us what our own countrymen would not have done; for thou hast fed us when we had nothing to eat; thou hast buried our dead, who would otherwise have been devoured by the dogs, the foxes, and the ravens; thou hast instructed us in the knowledge of God, and told us of a better life to come." Mr. Egede had also the pleasure of beholding some of the children whom he had baptized, exercising a peaceful resignation in the prospect of death, and a comfortable hope of a happy resurrection. *(a)*

In this manner did this virulent disorder rage among the poor Greenlanders until June 1734, if not even still longer, spreading its devastations at least forty leagues northward, and nearly as far to the south. When the traders afterwards went into the country, they found all the houses empty for thirty leagues north, and even in the narrow circuit of eight leagues round the colony, the number of dead amounted, so early as January, to no fewer than five hundred, though many of the inhabitants had fled on the first appearance of the disorder. From these facts we may form some idea of the multitude who died over the whole country. Mr. Egede computed them at two or three thousand, an immense number considering the smallness of the population. In the district of Ball's river only eight recovered from the disorder; and a boy, who had a hole in his side, was the only person who escaped it. *(b)*

About the time that the small-pox disappeared in the country, three ships arrived from Denmark, having on board

(a) Crantz's Hist. Green. vol. i. p. 335. *(b)* Ibid. vol. i. p. 336.

Mr. Ohnsorg, Mr. Bing, and Mr. Egede's eldest son, who had been at Copenhagen prosecuting his studies, together with materials for erecting a new colony at Disco. Mr. Egede had been filled with extraordinary joy on receiving his majesty's promise that the undertaking should be supported with fresh vigour; but when only three missionaries now arrived, he was extremely disappointed, and resolved to sue for his own dismission, that he might go and represent at court the state of the mission, in order to procure a suitable reinforcement of missionaries. He himself, indeed, was now so very sickly, and so much enfeebled both in body and mind, by the incessant exertions he had made, and the cares, vexations and hardships he had suffered, that he was no longer able to discharge the duties of a missionary with his former vigour and alacrity. Besides, his children grew up, and he could not give them that education in Greenland which they had a right to expect. For these and other reasons, he now desired as earnestly to leave the country, as ever he had longed to come to it. *(c)*

In 1735, Mr. Egede, in consequence of his own request, received his discharge; and, as might naturally have been expected, it was expressed in the most gracious terms. Meanwhile, however, his wife was taken dangerously ill; and as he was afraid to expose her on the ocean, he remained another year in the country. Mrs. Egede died in the course of a few months, a woman who better deserves to be enrolled in the annals of fame, than thousands on whom the world has conferred that honour. Of her character, her venerable husband has drawn the following short but interesting sketch: "All the praise and panegyric," says he, "with which I can crown her memory fall far short of what her piety and Christian virtues justly merit. I will not expatiate on her excellencies in domestic life, nor describe what a faithful helpmate she was to me, and what

(c) Crantz's Hist. Green. vol. i. p. 343, 364.

a tender mother to her children. Let it suffice to say, how readily she submitted to my will, as soon as she understood the resolution I had taken, of forsaking my people and my country, and repairing to Greenland, in order to instruct the ignorant inhabitants in the doctrines of the gospel: for though friends and relations vehemently importuned her, that if she had any regard for her own, her husband's, or her children's welfare, she should dissuade and withstand me in a project so absurd and frantic in the eyes of the whole world; yet from love to God and me, she cordially joined with me in the undertaking, and cheerfully went from her own people, and from her father's house, not to some earthly paradise, but to a strange, inhospitable Heathen land. And it is known to many, with what patience, and even with what alacrity, she put her shoulder to the burthen, to bear her share of the labours and distresses we had to endure; nay, how often she comforted and cheered my mind when it was disheartened and depressed by reiterated obstacles and repulses." (*d*)

Mr. Egede's grief on account of the death of his excellent wife, impaired still further the vigour both of his body and mind. He himself was soon after attacked with that dreadful disorder, the scurvy. He now, therefore, prepared to take his departure from a country where he had laboured upwards of fifteen years, amidst innumerable privations, hardships, and sufferings, yet apparently with little or no success. He preached his farewell sermon from these solemn and affecting words: "I said, I have laboured in vain, I have spent my strength for nought and in vain; yet surely my judgment is with the Lord, and my work with my God." How melting must have been the scene! Surely, it might have touched a heart of stone.

In August 1736. Mr. Egede sailed from Greenland, with his youngest son and two daughters; and after a voyage of about seven weeks, he arrived in Copenhagen. He took

(*d*) Crantz's Hist. Green. vol. i. p. 364.

with him the remains of his beloved wife, and had them interred in St. Nicholas' church-yard, in that city. He had soon after the honour of an interview with his majesty, to whom he delivered his sentiments concerning the manner in which the mission might be prosecuted with the greatest prospect of success. Mr. Egede was now appointed the superintendant of the undertaking, with a salary of £100 a year; and he was ordered to establish a seminary of students and orphans, to whom he should teach the Greenland language, and who would in future furnish a supply of missionaries and catechists for that country. During his latter years, he lived in retirement with his daughter on Falster-island, and at length, after an honourable and useful life, died November 5, 1758, aged seventy-three. *(e)*

In the meanwhile, the mission in Greenland appears to have been prosecuted with greater vigour than ever, probably, in consequence of Mr. Egede's personal exertions in Denmark. New colonies were established in various places on the western coast, from the sixty-second to the seventy-first degree of North latitude, and missionaries or catechists were settled in most of them. About 1761, when Crantz visited the country, the following were the principal of these establishments:

Begun.	Colonies.	Missionaries.	Catechists.
1721	Good Hope, ...	1	4
1734	Christian's Hope, removed in 1752 to Claus Haven, .	1	1
1741	Jacob's Haven, ...	1	1
1742	Frederick's Hope, . . .	1	1
1755	Zukkertop, ...	-	1
1755	Rittenbenk, ...	-	1
1759	Holsteinburg.	1	1
1759	Egede's Memorial . . .	-	1 *(f)*

(e) Crantz's Hist. Green. vol. i. p. 365.
(f) Ibid. vol. i. p. 4, 16.

Besides these, there were two or three other colonies of inferior note; but as no missionaries or catechists were settled in them, it is unnecessary to notice them. Two of the catechists at Good Hope, the original colony, were Greenlanders; and about two hundred of the natives were collected together in that place, many of whom had embraced the gospel and were baptized. *(g)*

Since that time, another colony, named Juliana's Hope, has been established, where a missionary has constantly resided; and the whole number of colonies, we are informed, now amount to nineteen. There used to be in all nine Danish missionaries in Greenland; but for the last twenty years, the number has been reduced to five, one missionary having to serve several colonies. The most populous amongst them was generally the place of his residence, from whence he paid visits in the summer to the other settlements, administered the Lord's Supper to the inhabitants, baptized their children, and performed the other duties attached to his office. We are sorry, indeed, to learn, that at present there is not a single Danish missionary in Greenland.* Of this, the following has been assigned as probably the reason: As the missionaries go to that country for a certain number of years only, those who were last there, it is supposed, have served out their time, and have returned to Denmark; while others have not as yet been sent to supply their place, as since the commencement of the war with England, the Danes have not been able to keep up the usual communication with Greenland. *(h)*

Besides the missionaries, there were usually catechists stationed in each of the colonies, who instructed the youth

(g) Crantz's Hist. Green. vol. i. p. 11.

(h) MSS. Accounts in the Author's possession.

* The last of the missionaries, however, did not leave the country till the autumn of 1812. *Periodical Accounts relating to the Missions of the United Brethren*, vol. v. p. 336.

of the place, offered up a prayer morning and evening with all the Greenlanders, and also preached on the Lord's day. The number of catechists was very considerable: in some of the colonies there were no fewer than six or eight. *(i)*

With regard to the number of converts in the several Danish colonies in Greenland, we have been able to procure no certain information; and indeed from what we have heard, we fear, that most of them are little better than Christians in name. Many of them, however, have obtained some knowledge of the gospel; and its beneficial influence is obvious in promoting civilization among them; there is a marked difference between their manners and customs, and those of their Pagan countrymen. With regard to the arts of life, it is necessary to leave them to the occupations proper for the country, as the catching of seals, the chace of birds, and the hunting of the reindeer, by which means they not only provide for the subsistence of themselves and their families, but are able to sell seal bacon, seal skins, and other articles to the colonists, for which they receive in return various kinds of European goods, implements for seal fishing, &c. *(k)*

Before we close our account of the Danish mission, it is proper to add, that the missionaries have made two different translations of the New Testament into the Greenland language, both of which have been printed. The first was made by Mr. Paul Egede, who, after labouring a number of years in this inhospitable country, returned to Denmark, and was appointed provost of the royal Danish mission in Greenland. It was not, however, approved of by the missionaries, who still remained among the Greenlanders. After his death, Mr. Fabricus, who had also left the country a great many years, made another translation of the New Testament into the Greenland language, which was printed at

(i) MSS. Accounts in the Author's possession. *(k)* Ibid.

Copenhagen in 1799. This version, however, is no better than the other; it is extremely incorrect, and what, if possible, is still worse, it is not understood by the people.—Besides these translations of the New Testament, the Danish missionaries have printed a hymn book, a catechism, and one or two spelling books, in the Greenland language. *(l)*

(l) MSS. Accounts in the Author's possession.

CHAPTER SIXTH.

PROPAGATION OF CHRISTIANITY BY THE UNITED BRETHREN.

THE United Brethren, or, as they are more commonly called, the Moravians, are generally supposed to have taken their rise from Nicholas Lewis, count Zinzendrof, a German nobleman, soon after the commencement of the eighteenth century. They themselves, however, trace their origin to the churches of Bohemia, which, even previous to the Reformation, maintained the principles of Christianity in no inconsiderable degree of purity, and were distinguished by giving birth to these two illustrious martyrs, John Huss and Jerome of Prague. *(a)*

After a variety of revolutions in their external circumstances, the churches of Bohemia obtained, about the beginning of the seventeenth century, an edict from the emperor of Germany, granting them a toleration of their religion, and ratifying that important privilege under the imperial sanction. But this was only like the still calm which often precedes a storm. In 1612, an attempt was made by government to force on them the decrees of the council of Trent. Being at length driven to despair by multiplied and incessant oppressions, they rose in arms to defend their religion and liberties; but after the unfortunate battle of Prague in 1620, they were either compelled to submit to the conqueror, or were driven into exile with the elector Palatine, whom they had chosen for their king. Numbers of them, indeed, were afterwards allured, by the promise of pardon, to return to their country; but notwithstanding this promise, some of them were perfidiously condemned to perpetual imprison-

(a) Crantz's History of the United Brethren.

ment, and others to an ignominious death. In one day, no fewer than twenty-seven of the principal lords and defenders of the Bohemian faith were beheaded on the scaffold. The flames of persecution being once kindled, spread over the whole country, and committed terrible devastation among the miserable inhabitants. By plunderings, by tortures, by executions, the people were driven to the utmost extremities; and many of them either renounced their religion, or fled to the kingdom, leaving the whole of their property behind them. But as these violent measures, instead of reconciling the nation to the church of Rome, threatened to depopulate the country, the ministers were now banished from Prague and the rest of the kingdom, in the hope that the people, deprived of their spiritual guides, would submit the more readily to the impositions of the Catholic priests. Many of them, however, hid themselves in caves and in mountains, and from these fastnesses visited their desolate congregations; but being detected in these labours of love, some of them were put to death, and others finally expelled the country. Many of the nobility, however, still remained steadfast to their ancient faith, and encouraged the people with the hope of regaining their liberties; but after having been drained of most of their wealth, and stripped of their estates, they were banished the kingdom in 1627. Hundreds of noble and respectable families now took refuge in the neighbouring countries; and though the common people were carefully watched to prevent their emigration, yet thousands of them also fled into exile from the tyranny of their oppressors.* Many of these went

* Some idea may be formed of the dreadful depopulation of the country, occasioned by these revolutions, from this singular fact, that in the reign of Rudolphus the inhabitants of Bohemia were said to amount to three millions, whereas after the civil wars they did not exceed four hundred thousand. More than thirty thousand families are said to have taken refuge in foreign countries. *Edinburgh Encyclopædia*, article Bohemia, vol. iii. p. 636.

in Silesia; still greater numbers retired into Prussia and Poland; but most of them escaped into Saxony and Upper Lusatia, where, from a variety of causes, they were soon lost among the general mass of the inhabitants; and though some of them formed particular congregations, and even formed new villages, yet their posterity degenerated from the virtues of their ancestors, and conformed to the manners of the people around them: there was only a small number who continued steadfast to their ancient faith. *(b)*

Thus the churches of Bohemia were reduced to the brink of ruin; but early in the eighteenth century, there was a considerable revival of religion among the exiles in various places, and likewise in that country, where numbers of the people still remained inimical to the church of Rome, and continued to hold their meetings in private. Among others, a man of the name of Christian David was distinguished as the happy instrument of rekindling the dying embers of vital religion in Moravia. Some of those who were awakened by his conversation and exhortations, begged him to procure them an asylum in some Protestant country, as in their own land they were not only exposed to persecution, but were in a great measure destitute of the means of religious instruction. Having failed, however, in his first attempts for this purpose, he, at length, made application in their behalf to count Zinzendorf, a pious nobleman who had lately returned from his travels, and who readily granted them permission to settle on his domains. Little did the count then suspect the various consequences which were to result from this simple incident, or the important part which he himself was to act in those vast undertakings to which it speedily gave rise. *(c)*

In the summer of 1722, Christian David returned from Moravia, with two families of the name of Neisser, consisting in all of eleven persons, nearly one half of whom were children. Upon their arrival on count Zinzendorf's

(b) Crantz's History of the United Brethren. *(c)* Ibid.

estate in Upper Lusatia, they proceeded to build a house for themselves, and thus laid the foundation of the celebrated village of Herrnhuth. Christian David returned to Moravia the following year, and visited a number of the villages where the descendants of the ancient brethren resided. By his conversation and prayers, hundreds of them were awakened to a concern about their souls; they often held meetings together during the whole of the night; but being discovered, they were summoned before their superiors, threatened with slavery in the galleys, and even with capital punishments. Many were actually thrown into prison, and others suffered severe corporal punishment. In consequence of these outrageous proceedings, several of them determined to leave the country, and after encountering many difficulties and dangers, they happily effected their purpose. An oath which now began to be imposed, as a religious test on all suspected persons, induced still greater numbers to take the same resolution; and it is worthy of notice, how wonderfully they were often favoured by Providence in their flight. Some of them were enabled to disentangle themselves from the fetters with which they were bound, to leap from high prisons without injury, to pass through their guards undiscovered even in open day, or to escape from their pursuit. Even when stopped on the road, the upright representation of the cause of their emigration, and the piteous cries of their children, often so melted the hearts of their countrymen, that they suffered them to pass unmolested. Some of them afterwards returned and sought an opportunity of bringing away their husbands or wives, their parents or children, their brothers or sisters, and though their enemies watched them in the most rigorous manner, they often succeeded in these dangerous enterprises beyond expectation. It was remarked, indeed, that such as secretly disposed of their property, and took the money with them, or attempted to leave the country with loaded waggons, were frequently betrayed or stopped on the road, carried back again, or plundered of their effects,

One of this description having been attacked by robbers, and nearly murdered by them, was afterwards obliged to travel more than a hundred and twenty miles with only about three pence in his pocket. *(d)*

Count Zinzendorf, who, for several years, was generally absent at the court of Dresden, had at first imagined that only a few persecuted families would settle on his domains, to whom therefore he could not refuse an asylum. But a considerable number of these refugees being now collected at Herrnhuth, he endeavoured to persuade them to unite themselves with the Lutheran church, which was established by law, and of which he was a zealous member. But notwithstanding this advice, they resolved that a constitution of three hundred years standing, on account of which many of their ancestors had suffered and bled and died, and which they had handed down to them as a most precious inheritance, should by no means be abandoned by them. They agreed, however, not to separate from the Lutheran church, but still to hold the closest communion with it; while, at the same time, they maintained among themselves the Bohemian constitution and discipline. In this decision, the count at last acquiesced: he afterwards became the head of the whole body, and was consecrated one of their bishops. *(e)*

The count, even at an early period of his life, had turned his attention to the miserable state of the Heathen world, and within a few years after the building of Herrnhuth, the Brethren began to direct their views to the same important object. Certain circumstances at length called forth their zeal into action, and ever since that period, it has burned with a pure and uninterrupted flame. In 1731, when the count attended the coronation of Christian the Sixth, the king of Denmark, at Copenhagen, he saw two of the natives of Greenland who had been baptized by Mr. Egede, and he learned, with regret, that the Danish government had

(d) Cranta's History of the United Brethren. *(e)* Ibid.

resolved to abandon the mission in that country. About the same time, a negro called Anthony, who had contracted an acquaintance with his servants, informed them, that he had a sister in the island of St. Thomas in the West Indies, who earnestly desired to be instructed in the principles of religion; but as she had neither time nor opportunity for it, she often besought the great God to send some person to shew her the way of salvation. Anthony having soon after obtained liberty from his master to visit Hermhuth, again declared, in the presence of many of the congregation, the desire of his countrymen, and especially of his sister, for Christian instruction; but he added, that the negroes, in consequence of their accumulated labours, could have no opportunity of religious improvement, unless their teacher was himself a slave to instruct them in the midst of their daily avocations. This representation, and what the Brethren who had been at Copenhagen related concerning the state of Greenland, made a deep impression on many of the congregation, and several of them declared their willingness to go and labour among the poor Heathen. Leonard Dober, in particular, and Tobias Leopold, one of his most intimate friends, felt so strong a desire to proceed to St. Thomas, that they offered not only to go to that island, but, with a philanthrophy which, perhaps, has scarcely a parallel in the annals of history, to sell themselves as slaves, in order to make known the Redeemer to the negroes, particularly to the poor woman who so ardently longed for Christian instruction, should they find no other way of accomplishing their purpose. Some of the Brethren expressed a similar desire to proceed to Greenland; and shortly after missions were undertaken to both these countries. *(f)*

It is worthy of particular observation, that when the Moravians sent forth their first missionaries, the congregation consisted only of about six hundred poor despised exiles; yet this inconsiderable company made such noble and

(f) Crantz's History of Greenland, vol. i. p. 317.

extensive exertions for the conversion of the Heathen, as reflects not only the highest honour on themselves, but indelible disgrace on all the rest of the Christian world. In the short period of eight or nine years, they sent missionaries to Greenland,to St. Thomas, to St. Croix, to Surinam, to the Rio de Berbice, to the Indians of North America, to the Negroes of South Carolina, to Lapland, to Tartary, to Algiers, to Guinea, to the Cape of Good Hope, and to the island of Ceylon. *(g)* * Of these important undertakings, we shall now proceed to give some account, beginning with the mission to Greenland.

(g) Crantz's History of the Brethren.

* While the United Brethren were labouring with the energy and zeal of apostles in Heathen lands, and exhibiting the spirit of the gospel in all its native lustre and beauty, the Christian world was calumniating their character, misrepresenting their principles, and charging them with the foulest crimes. The writings of count Zinzendorf, in particular, were ransacked, and often mutilated, misquoted, and falsely translated, in order to prove that the church of which he was a distinguished member, held errors the most wild and fanatic, and indulged in practices the most vile and abominable. The count, indeed, though not an ordinary character, was yet a man, and of course liable to err. He commonly delivered two or three discourses every day, either in public or to his family, which was generally large : His sermons were, in the strictest sense of the word, *extempore*, yet as they were often attended with striking effects on the hearers, they were commonly taken down as he delivered them ; and such was the veneration in which he was held by his brethren, than in many instances, they urged the publication of them. As he, however, was pressed with numerous other avocations, he did not spend that time in revising them which the nature of the case demanded. Some he never reviewed at all ; and some were not only incorrectly, but even falsely printed. In consequence of these circumstances, doctrines of which he never dreamed were deduced from his writings; and some of his transient private opinions were laid to the charge of the whole of the Brethren. Convinced of the impropriety of

SECTION I.

Greenland.

IN January 1733, Christian David, the man who was the occasion of the first emigrations from Moravia, together with Matthew and Christian Stach, set off from Herrnhuth in Upper Lusatia, on a mission to the inhospitable shores of Greenland. "There was no need," says one of them, "of much time or expence for our equipment. The congregation

these proceedings, and finding positions in the writings which passed under his name which he neither professed nor believed, he published a declaration in the public papers, that he could not acknowledge any books which had been printed in his name, unless they were revised and corrected by himself in a new edition. He began this work in German; but died before it was finished.

It must also be acknowledged, that at one period, particularly from 1747 to 1753, many of the Moravians, in their public discourses, and in the hymns they published, employed expressions which were improper and indefensible. The count himself laboured to correct both the views and language contained in these pieces; and his endeavours were crowned with success, so that they are no longer in use among the Brethren.

It may not be improper further to remark, that the church of the Brethren do not acknowledge the writings of the count, or of any man, as the standard of their principles. They, indeed, consider the confession of Augsburg, as exhibiting a correct view of the doctrines of the gospel; but they allow of no other rule for their faith and practice, except the Scriptures of the Old and New Testament.

Such is the candid statement of Mr. Latrobe in his preface to Spangenberg's Exposition of Christian doctrine as taught in the Church of the United Brethren. From this work, indeed, it appears, that, with regard to the leading truths of the gospel, the principles of the Moravians are in perfect unison with the sentiments of serious Christians of all denominations.

consisted chiefly of poor exiles, who had not much to give us, and we ourselves had nothing but the clothes on our backs. Being accustomed to make a shift with little, we did not trouble our heads how we should get to Greenland, or how we should live in that country. Some money having come from a friend at Venice, the day before our departure, we received part of it to pay the expence of our journey to Copenhagen; and as we considered ourselves as richly provided for, we would take nothing of any person on the road, believing that he who had sent a supply for our journey at the critical moment, would also take care for every thing that was necessary for carrying our purpose into execution as soon as we should want it. Neither could any one give us much information on the subject of our work, or many instructions how we should proceed; for the congregation as yet had no experience in the management of missions. It was, therefore, left to ourselves to act in all circumstances, as the Lord should lead us. In short, we neither knew nor imagined how it would be with us." *(a)*

Such were the circumstances in which these simple unlettered men set out on their journey. On their arrival at Copenhagen, they were received with much kindness by professor Ewald, a member of the college of missions, and by M. Reuss, his majesty's chaplain. Their design, however, of going to Greenland appeared to many extremely romantic and unseasonable, especially as the mission and colony already established in that country seemed now on the brink of ruin, and was even probably abandoned for ever.* Besides, how could they get thither, since there was no likelihood any ship would undertake such a voyage for the purpose of trade? Or if a vessel should be sent to bring back the few people who still remained behind, how was it possible for three solitary individuals to subsist in so cold and barren a country, without assistance or supplies from home?

(a) Crantz's History of Greenland, vol. i. p. 322.

* See page 261.

The probability was, they would either be murdered by the savages, or perish with hunger, or die of some contagious disorder, as most of the colonists had done three years before. *(b)*

Such was the unfavourable prospect before them; yet they were not disheartened by these difficulties or these reasonings. Full of simple confidence in God, they waited in humble expectation, that he who had called them to the undertaking, would enable them to carry it into execution. After sometime, they learned that the king had consented to send a ship once more to Greenland, and in consequence of the representations of Pless, the first lord of the bed-chamber, his majesty accepted of the offer of the Brethren in the most gracious manner; and after considering the subject further, he resolved to promote, with new vigour, the improvement of the country and the conversion of the inhabitants. He not only permitted the three Brethren to go thither as missionaries, but desired that others might follow them; and he was even so condescending as to write a letter with his own hand to Mr. Egede, recommending them to his attention and friendship. Several other distinguished persons, who were friendly to the object, countenaced them with their approbation, and afforded them pecuniary assistance. Pless, one day, asked them, How they proposed to live in Greenland? "They intended," they replied, "to build a house, and to cultivate the land by the labour of their hands, that they might not be burdensome to any." to this he objected, that there was no wood in the country to build with. "Then," said they, "we will dig into the earth, and lodge there." Struck with their self-denial, he replied: "No: you shall not do that: Take wood with you and build a house: Accept of these fifty dollars for that purpose." By means of this and other contributions, the Brethren purchased various materials for building, as poles,

(b) Crantz's History of Greenland, vol. i. p. 323.

planks, laths; instruments for masonry, digging stones, and carpenter's work; household furniture, as iron stoves, windows, tin and copper vessels, beds, clothes, books, paper; some implements of husbandry; several sorts of seeds and roots, nets, fowling-pieces, and other useful articles. *(c)*

In the beginning of April, the missionaries sailed from Copenhagen, and after an agreeable voyage of about six weeks, they landed safe in Greenland. Immediately on their arrival, they repaired to Mr. Egede, and delivered him their letters of recommendation. He gave them, as might be expected, a most cordial welcome, congratulated them on their undertaking, and promised them his best assistance in learning the language. Having fixed on a spot for a settlement near the colony of Good Hope, they there erected a house; but, at first, they found no small difficulty in finding themselves a maintenance in the country. They were able to procure little or nothing by hunting or fishing, for they had never been trained to these occupations; neither were they able to follow the method of the Greenlanders, for they were not able to manage a kajak.* The first time they went in search of wood among the islands, they were overtaken by a storm; and though they reached home, after much difficulty, yet during the night, their boat and the wood they had collected were driven away by the wind. In a few days, indeed, some of the Greenlanders brought the boat back again; but, as might be expected, it was materially damaged. Apprehending that these trials were a warning to them not to entangle themselves with the cares of the present life, the Brethren came to a resolution to follow the example of some of their friends in Europe, and when other work failed, to earn some necessaries by the humble occupation of spinning. *(d)*

(c) Crantz's History of Greenland, vol. i. p. 324.

(d) Ibid. vol. i. p. 326, 328, 331.

* The small boat of the Greenlanders

Agreeably to his promise, Mr. Egede afforded them every assistance in learning the language, lending them, with this view, a copy of the remarks he had made upon it, and ordering his children to explain it to them. But the difficulties which these unlettered men had to undergo in acquiring it, would have proved absolutely insurmountable, had they not been endowed with a most extraordinary measure of patience. First, they had to learn the Danish language, before they could even understand their instructors; and as they had probably never seen a grammar before, it must have been no easy matter for them even to form accurate and distinct ideas of the numerous terms of that intricate art, as nouns, cases, verbs, persons, moods, &c. After this they had to acquire the Greenland language, containing a variety of declensions and conjugations, diversified by new moods, and entangled with suffixes of pronouns both active and passive, and to commit to memory a large vocabulary of words, the Greenlanders having often ten different terms to express the same idea. Besides the savages would enter into no conversation with them, and even aggravated all their other difficulties, by stealing away the books they had written with immense labour and care. The missionaries, indeed, wisely resolved not to speak with the Greenlanders on the subject of religion for the present, not even for improving themselves in the language, lest by employing improper and equivocal expressions, they should give them erroneous conceptions of divine truth. *(e)*

The Brethren, indeed, had, at present, little opportunity of conversing with the Greenlanders, or of holding any kind of intercourse with them. They were at that time, it is true, very numerous in Balls' river; but they were so dispersed among the islands and the hills, catching seals or hunting reindeer, and towards winter they were so accustomed to go sixty, a hundred, and even two hundred leagues to the

(e) Crantz's Hist. Green. vol. i. p. 332.

north or the south, that the missionaries seldom saw them. Some, indeed, called on them occasionally as they passed, but it was merely from curiosity to see their buildings, or to beg for nails, fish hooks, knives, or other similar articles, if not even to carry them off by stealth. When the Brethren went to visit them on the islands, they seldom found any who would entertain them, even though they offered to pay them; and instead of entering into conversation with them, the savages were continually asking them, whether they would not soon go away again *(f)*

These, however, were not the only trials which the Brethren had to endure at the commencement of their missionary career. It was only a few months after their arrival, that the small-pox made its appearance in Greenland, and committed such terrible ravages among the inhabitants, as to threaten to depopulate the whole country. The Brethren, as we have already mentioned, assisted Mr. Egede in visiting the sick and the dying; but they themselves were, at length, successively attacked with an eruptive disorder, which so increased during the winter, that they were often confined to bed, and were scarcely able to move their limbs. Happily, however, they were not all ill at the same time, but one of them was always able to nurse the others, and even to go with the colony's boat, to visit the poor savages. During the indisposition of the Brethren, Mr. Egede shewed them all the kindness of a father and a friend; and his excellent wife never omitted sending them some refreshment or cordial, when she had any herself. They were, indeed, so generous to them, that the missionaries often felt scrupulous in accepting the many favours with which they loaded them. *(g)*

In such inauspicious circumstances did the Brethren pass the first year in Greenland. Indeed, Christian David and Christian Stach began to think of returning home by the

(f) Crantz's Hist. Green. vol. i. p. 332.
(g) Ibid. vol. i. p. 333, 338, 365.

first opportunity, as they did not see what good they could do in a country, so completely depopulated by the late dreadful ravages of the small-pox, while the few inhabitants who remained appeared totally averse to the gospel. But in March 1734, two other missionaries, Frederick Boehnish and John Beck, were sent by the congregation to their assistance, with the strongest assurances of their design to support the mission. This raised their drooping spirits; and inspired them with fresh courage. Rough as was their post, they determined to stand steadfast by it, in the hope that God would crown their labours with success. They now applied to the study of the language with new diligence and alacrity; but the further they proceeded, the more difficult they found it, especially as they were no longer satisfied with such expressions as were applicable, merely to the common affairs of life, but began to translate into it the language of Scripture, and other phrases relative to vital religion. They were told, indeed, by their instructors, that it was impossible to translate any but historical pieces, as the Greenlanders had no terms in their language to express the peculiar doctrines of the gospel, and could not even form the most distant idea of spiritual things. The Brethren, however, were not discouraged by these accounts; and in the course of a few years they made further progress in the language than they could ever have imagined, especially after some of the natives embraced Christianity, and found words themselves to express the views and feelings of their heart. *(h)*

Meanwhile, as the missionaries were not yet able to discourse with the savages concerning religion, they read to them some of those pieces which Mr. Egede had translated, as the creed, and the commandments, and the Lord's prayer; they reminded them of what they had taught them; refreshed their memory in what they had forgotten; rectified what

(h) Crantz's Hist. Green. vol. i. p. 345, 346.

they had misunderstood; and told them, as well as they were able, that it was necessary not only to understand the gospel, but to feel its influence on their heart. According to their own professions, indeed, there was no want of faith among them; but when the experience of the heart was demanded, they knew not what it meant. On one occasion, when Matthew Stack read a short prayer to them, and asked if the language was good Greenlandish, they replied, Yes; but added, that the words Jesus Christ, the being redeemed by the shedding of his blood, and the knowing, loving, and receiving him, were what they did not understand. *(i)*

With the view of observing the state of the country, and learning the condition, customs, and language of the inhabitants, as well of sowing the seed of the word among them, the Brethren made frequent voyages to the islands and other places. In March 1735, as they were preparing for an expedition of this kind, the only woman's boat* they had left, was lifted up from the ground by a violent tempest, carried some hundred paces in the air, and dashed to pieces on a rock. This reduced them to a sad dilemma; but Mr. Egede was so kind as to give them an old European boat, and materials to repair it; and when they had not hands to man it, he sometimes lent them a small boat to follow their occupation in the neighbourhood; and he likewise frequently took them with him to visit the Heathen. They also occasionally went in company with the traders; but as the savages saw that they readily put their hands to any kind of work, they at first imagined that they were the factor's servants, and on that account slighted and despised them. But when they understood that they came not to trade with them, but to make known their Creator to them; and observed, at the same time, that they were distinguished from the other Europeans by the meekness and modesty of their behaviour,

(i) Crantz's Hist. Green. vol. i. p. 349.

* The large boat of the Greenlanders.

they formed a higher opinion of them. By degrees, indeed, their friendly deportment towards them, untainted with jesting or licentionsness, yet unsoured with harshness or austerity, so won their affection and confidence, that they sought their conversation, constrained them to go into their houses, begged them often to come and see them, and promised to visit them in return. *(k)*

Agreeably to their promises, numbers of the Greenlanders returned the visits which the Brethren made them in the course of their voyages. The selfishness of their design, however, was obvious. Sometimes they wanted shelter or victuals; sometimes they wished to have a couple of needles or some similar trifle; sometimes they even bluntly declared, that if the Brethren would give them no more stock fish, they would no more hear their words; for the savages imagined that they conferred a mighty obligation on the missionaries, and that they were entitled to payment for condescending to hear and believe them. The Brethren, indeed, could not, in conscience, send them away empty, as the cold was so intense that the poor creatures were not able to procure a sufficient maintenance for themselves, and many of them had often scarcely a morsel to eat for three or four days together. Afterward, on the return of summer, when they caught plenty of game, and had danced, perhaps, during the whole night at a revel, they still occasionally visited the Brethren; but they were generally so sleepy, that it was impossible to carry on any serious conversation with them; or they were merely curious to hear some news, to see what was strange, or to have such things given them as happened to attract their fancy; and if the Brethren found it necessary to deny their request, they were obliged to watch them narrowly, lest they should secretly carry off the article which their covetous heart desired. This often rendered their visits extremely troublesome; but yet the

(k) Crantz's Hist. Green. vol. i. p. 348.

missionaries did not choose to treat them harshly, lest it should frighten them away altogether. Indifferent as were the motives of the savages, the Brethren were obliged to be satisfied for the present with their willingness to visit them; and they even drew encouragement from this of more propitious days. *(l)*

Many as had been the sufferings of the Brethren since their arrival in Greenland, they had now to endure a more terrible calamity than any which had yet befallen them, the awful horrors of famine. They had been supplied the year before with the necessaries of life, by an eminent benefactor at the court of Denmark; but this season, they were entirely forgotten, and even some articles which could not come with the last missionaries for want of room, were neglected to be sent them. They had not applied to their Brethren at Herrnhuth for assistance, nor did the congregation know in what manner they could serve them. The missionaries, however, did not even receive any letters from them, or from any of their other friends, except professor Steenbuch, a member of the college of missions, and M. Martens, his majesty's cup-bearer. They were now, therefore, involved in deep distress, as they had nothing before them but the dreadful prospect of starvation. The amount of their provisions for the whole year was only a barrel and a half of oatmeal, most of which they bartered at the colony for a little malt, half a barrel of pease, and a small quantity of ship biscuit. Hitherto, indeed, they had been pretty successful both in fishing and hunting; but this season they were able to catch little or nothing, as there was a great scarcity of beasts, birds, and fishes. They had, therefore, no other resource except to buy seals of the Greenlanders. But no sooner did the savages learn that they were in want, than they raised their articles very high; and even most of them, particularly those with whom they were best acquainted, and to whom

(l) Crantz's Hist. Green. vol. i. p. 350.

they had lately shewn much kindness, refused to sell them provisions at any price. Often, after rowing among them for two or three days together, the poor missionaries, by their utmost entreaties, could procure no more than half a seal, or, perhaps, even not so much; and as that was soon consumed, they were glad to pacify the cravings of nature, by eating shell-fish, or raw sea-weed. The savages, indeed, would be rioting in plenty, while they were starving with hunger. At one banquet, which lasted the whole night, the Brethren saw eleven seals devoured by the gluttons, while they, with all their entreaties could not move the unfeeling wretches to sell them a single morsel. *(m)*

Besides suffering the horrors of famine, the missionaries had now to increase their labours, and thus exposed to further dangers. Urged by the cravings of hunger, they could not always wait for settled weather to embark on the ocean; but were often compelled to trust themselves to the mercy of the waves, even when the day was stormy, in an old crazy hulk of a boat, and that to the distance of several leagues. Once, when they had nearly got to land, they were hurried two leagues back by a sudden squall, and were completely wet by the breakers; and in this state they were obliged to remain on an island till the fourth day, exposed to all the inclemency of the weather. On another occasion, after being completely fatigued at their oars, they stopped all night in an uninhabited spot, and were obliged to rest satisfied with a little seal's flesh, which they procured from a Greenlander at a feast, but, indeed, they could scarcely eat any of it for weariness and cold. As they had no tent, they lay down in a hole in the snow, and as that was at length closed up by the drift, they had to rise from their retreat and warm themselves by running. Sometimes they ventured in serene weather to embark in a kajak, and to angle for fish. But one of them was once overset by a sudden squall of

(m) Crantz's Hist. Green. vol. i. p. 356, 360.

wind, and would certainly have been drowned, had not two Greenlanders, who were near at hand, lifted him up, bound him fast between their boats, and towed him safe to land. *(n)*

In the midst of all these trials, indeed, the providence of God was often remarkably displayed in their behalf. He who sent a raven to feed the prophet Elijah, disposed a strange Greenlander, called Ippegau, to come forty leagues from the south, and to sell them, from time to time, whatever he could spare. Once in summer, when they had lost their way among the islands, they happened accidentally to meet with this man. He received them with great kindness, took notice of their words, and entered into some serious conversation with them. In their distress, they thought no more about him, and indeed, would scarcely have been able to find him, even had they made the attempt. But towards the end of the year, he came to them of his own accord, pitied their sad condition, and invited them to pay him another visit. They now inured themselves to the eating of seal's flesh, dishing up the little oatmeal they had left with the train-oil. Such as know the nature of the train of seals, will be able to form some conception of the hardships which the Brethren endured. Yet even this was a delicacy in comparison of the old tallow candles, which they were obliged to use when they had no train. *(o)*

In various other instances, the Brethren experienced the gracious interposition of Providence in their behalf. One day the boatmen found a dead whale, and gave them a couple meals of it. Another time, a Greenlander left them a porpoise taken out of the belly of the dam, which served them for a meal, after they had eaten nothing but shell-fish for five days. When they were returning home, on a different occasion, quite empty, they were driven by a contrary wind on a desolate island, and were obliged to remain there

(n) Crantz's Hist. Green. vol. i. p. 357, 360.
(o) Ibid. vol. i. p. 357.

all night. Here, however, they spied an eagle on her nest and shot her. They had, indeed, to climb up a steep and dangerous precipice to come at the place; but they obtained, as the reward of their trouble, two large eggs and the creature itself, which weighed about twelve pounds, and furnished them with near a hundred quills for writing, an article greatly wanted by them. *(p)*

As long as the Brethren could procure any seals, they retained their health and strength tolerably well; but in the spring of 1736, when they could obtain no more of this kind of food, and were obliged to support life by shell-fish and sea-weed, their strength declined so much, that they could scarcely manage their boat. Once, when they had not drawn it far enough on land, owing to their extreme weakness, it was very much damaged by a high tide and storm. *(q)*

At length, after a long continued train of sufferings, they very unexpectedly received a supply of provisions from Holland, with a promise of further assistance from that country. A Greenlander having brought intelligence to the Danish missionaries at the colony, from a Dutch ship lying thirty leagues to the south, that the captain had letters for them which he must deliver into their own hands, Mr. Egede sent his son thither immediately, though the Brethren supposed it was them who were meant, and such providentially was the case; for the sloop brought them a cask containing several kinds of provisions, and a letter from a friend in Amsterdam. "We had just returned," say they, "from a toilsome excursion, in which we could get nothing, and therefore were the more put to the blush, through the wonderful interposition of Providence in our behalf: And as we had received no accounts from our Brethren in Europe for two years, we were particularly invigorated and enlivened when we heard of the mercy and grace which the Lord had shewn his

(p) Crantz's Hist. Green. vol. i. p. 360.
(q) Ibid. vol. i. p. 360.

people. Being told that the captain wished to see us, and for this purpose had promised to wait a fortnight longer in the south, and as the Brethren in Amsterdam requested us to send them some account of our situation, and to inform them, whether they could again serve us by the same channel, we were extremely anxious to visit the ship; but yet we were non-plussed to think, how we should be able to sail to such a distance in our old leaky boat, through the tremendous surges, which, in many places, roll from the ocean into the bays, and amidst innumerable rocks and islands. Having already, however, seen the kind providence of God in the Greenlander's mistake, in not bringing the message to us but to the missionaries at the colony, in consequence of which they first sought out the ship, which would have been then impossible for us, and brought us as much provision as would carry us thither, we were encouraged to make the attempt in the name of the Lord; and, accordingly, after a toilsome voyage, we not only reached the vessel, but were also brought back in safety." This supply, so extremely seasonable, was the more extraordinary, as neither they nor any of the congregation had expressed the least desire of that kind to their friends in Holland; but the Lord had put it into the heart of a Mr. Le Long to make an experiment, whether he could not transmit them some stores by the ships from that country. He was also so kind as to promise, that if they received them, he would solicit the aid of some other friends, and send them further supplies the following season. This generous offer the missionaries gladly accepted, and requested, that in case they could convey them nothing else, they would at least send them a strong durable boat, an article they stood much in need of for gaining their subsistence, and for rendering them less dependent on supplies from abroad. *(r)*

About this period, the Brethren had no opportunities of making distant visits among the Greenlanders, but were

(r) Crantz's History of Greenland, vol. i. p. 361.

obliged to confine their labours to those in their own neighbourhood, and among these they found few who were disposed to receive instruction. At one time, the savages would not listen to them, because they had some business, or, perhaps, a dance in view; at another, they would hear nothing but news, and even gave the Brethren to understand that they had already heard, and known, and believed enough about spiritual things, having been instructed by persons more capable of teaching them than they. Indeed, if the missionaries tarried more than one night with them, they employed every species of art to entice them to their wanton dissolute practices; and when they failed in this, they endeavoured to weary and provoke them by mocking and mimicking their reading, singing, and praying, or by accompanying these sacred exercises with their hideous howling, or the beat of their drums. They took occasion, from their external poverty, to ridicule them with the keenest sarcasms; and if the Brethren replied, that they did not come to Greenland for the sake of outward advantages, as good eating and drinking, but to teach them the will of God and the way to heaven, they taunted them, saying, "Fine fellows, indeed, to be our teachers! We know very well, ye yourselves are ignorant, and must learn your lesson from others," referring probably to their being taught the language by the Danish missionaries. All this rudeness the Brethren bore with patience, meekness, and serenity: but the savages, instead of being softened by their gentle behaviour, were only encouraged to abuse the more. They pelted them with stones, climbed on their shoulders, seized many of their goods, and shattered them to pieces; nay, they were so cruel as to attempt to spoil their boat, or to drive it out to sea, which would have deprived them of their chief means of subsistence. It even appears that they formed some design against the lives of the Brethren. One night, the missionaries heard a noise on the outside of their tent, and perceived that some person was trying to draw aside the curtains which were fastened with a couple of pins. They went out

to see what was the matter, when, to their surprize and astonishment, they beheld a number of Greenlanders surrounding the tent, some of them with naked knives in their hands, nor could they drive them away till they threatened them with their fire-arms. At that time, the Brethren supposed that the savages designed merely to cut their tent skins in pieces; but, some years after, they learned, that they had resolved to take their lives, hoping that the other Europeans in the country would not think it worth their while to revenge the death of such poor despised people. Indeed, it even appeared that they were instigated to this horrid deed by some malicious persons in the colony, and therefore the Brethren presented a remonstrance to the Danish factor and the missionaries, informing them of this fact, that so none of their servants might in future be allowed to act a part so contrary to every principle of religion, justice, and humanity. *(s)*

Hitherto, the Brethern had seen no fruit of their labours in Greenland. The savages who came from a distance were stupid, ignorant, and thoughtless. The little they could learn in a short visit, even if it made some slight impression at the time, was soon forgotten by them in the midst of their constant wanderings from place to place. On the other hand, those who resided in the neighbourhood, and had been under instruction for many years, instead of becoming better, appeared to grow worse. As long as they were told any kind of news, they listened to them with pleasure; they could also bear to hear some little histories out of the Bible, particularly the miracles of our Lord and his Apostles. But if the Brethren began to speak to them of the nature and attributes of God, of the fall and corruption of man, of the wrath of God against sinners, of the necessity of an atonement, of faith in Jesus Christ, of the means of grace, of the santification of the heart, of the example of Christ, of the

(s) Crantz's Hist. Green. vol. i. p. 367.

happiness of heaven, or the misery of hell, they quickly became sleepy, said Yes to all, and soon slunk away. At other times, they even avowed their aversion to such discourse, and began to talk of their seal catching, or they excused themselves, saying, They could not understand it. "Shew us the God you describe," said they, "then will we believe in him, and serve him. You represent him as so great, that we cannot come near him, neither will he trouble himself about us. We have prayed for him when we were sick or had nothing to eat, but he heard us not. What you say of him, therefore, we think is not true; or if you know him better than we, then do ye, by your prayers, obtain for us plenty of food, health of body, and a dry house, for these are all the things we either desire or want. We have healthy souls already; we need nothing but a sound body and enough to eat. You are a different kind of people from us. In your country, perhaps, persons may have diseased souls: we have proofs of this, indeed, in those who come hither; they are good for nothing; they may therefore stand in need of a Saviour and a Physician for the soul. Your heaven and your spiritual pleasures may be good enough for you; but they would be tiresome to us. We must have seals, and birds, and fishes; these we shall not find in your heaven; and, therefore, we will leave it to you and the worthless part of the Greenlanders: As for us, we will go down to Torngarsuk; there we shall find abundance of every thing without either toil or trouble." In this manner did the savages ward off or even ridicule the most important and interesting truths of revelation. Indeed, when they were in a humour for it, there was nothing so sacred, but they would employ their wit upon it. *(t)*

In June 1737, many of the Greenlanders fled for protection to the Europeans, in consequence of a report that the Southlanders intended to come and murder those who lived in this

(t) Crantz's Hist. Green. vol. i. p. 376.

part of the country. But no sooner was the danger over than they went away again, and the Brethren were obliged to search after them among the islands in their old leaky boat, which was now so rotten, that they almost shuddered to enter it. In one of these voyages, they were driven, by contrary winds, to the southern islands, where they met with many of the Greenlanders, and among others their old friend Ippegau, who, two years before, preserved their life. These people received them in a friendly manner; and though in two or three days they gave them to understand, that they wished them to return home, yet they were prevailed on to allow one of the missionaries to reside a short time with them for the purpose of improving himself in the language. Matthew Stach, accordingly, remained with them about a month, during which period their behaviour was very variable, as was always the case with them. Sometimes they were cross, and sometimes they were kind towards him. They allowed him, at first, to talk freely with them, and occasionally to read to them some passages out of the New Testament; but they soon grew weary of these exercises, and refused to hear him any more. Indeed, what he told them of divine things only furnished them with matter for chit-chat and laughter. On the other hand, they extolled their sorcerors as beings who could vanish from the sight, glide along an invisible rope to the heavens above, or to the abyss beneath, and compel the infernal powers to unchain the captive seals. When he shewed them the absurdity of such romantic tales, and described to them the state of heaven and hell, they frowned on him in anger, and bid him hold his peace, and go away. At other times, indeed, they professed to believe all he told them, expressed a wish that he would remain longer with them, and learn their language, that he might be able to teach them more. But these expressions of good will were commonly of short duration. On one occasion, they danced two whole nights successively. There were, he believed, a hundred and fifty people in the

house, and some of them attempted to affront and teaze him by every method they could devise: indeed, their drumming and bellowing were so horrible during their dancing and singing, that they made his ears to ache. As it rained very hard the following day, they told him to pray to the Son of God, since he was Almighty, to give them good weather, that the rain might not run through the roof, into their houses. To this he replied, There was no need to pray for that, as they had only to spread their tent skins over the roof, and then the rain would not soak into their habitations. They should rather pray that God would be gracious to their souls. In return, however, they only laughed at him, saying, They understood nothing of that, nor did they stand in need of it, though for him, perhaps, it might be good. One day, as Matthew Stach was reading a discourse to one of these Greenlanders, he made use of this expression: "We should despise earthly things." The savage, averse to such a sentiment, said: "Why so? I pray." To this the missionary replied, "That God had created mankind not only for the present short uncertain life, but for an everlasting state of existence beyond the grave; that Jesus Christ would come again, at the last day, and conduct his people to heaven, but would cast the wicked into hell." Upon this, the Greenlander answered: "If the Son of God is such a terrible being, I do not wish to go to heaven." Matthew Stach then asked him, If he would go to hell. "No," said he, "I will not go there either: I will stay here upon earth." But when it was shewn him that no man can remain for ever in this world, that all must die, and that after death they must go either to a place of happiness or of misery, he mused a while, and then replied, He did not know that, nor did he like to hear any thing more about it. At last he said, he must go a fishing; his wife had no victuals, and he had no disposition to receive such incomprehensible things. In general, indeed, they treated the name of God and the truths of religion, of which they had professed their belief for so many years, in

a very contemptuous and spiteful manner. The children, however, all loved our missionary, and used to run after him with great fondness, owing, no doubt, to his kind and affable behaviour towards them. Sometimes he collected them together, spoke with them a little, and asked them a few questions. On these occasions, they listened with apparent pleasure; but it was extremely difficult to keep them in an attentive mood, for no sooner did they see or hear any thing that attracted or amused their fancy, than they ran away after it, and what they had learned was of course soon forgotten. *(u)*

In the beginning of 1738, the Greenlanders made them frequent, indeed almost daily, visits; but commonly it was nothing except hunger which brought them. The missionaries supplied their wants as far as they were able, and did not fail to embrace these opportunities of exciting in them a desire after the bread which endureth to everlasting life. They likewise endeavoured to discover whether the savages did not feel some compunction of heart after being guilty of evil deeds; but it appears their understanding was so darkened, that they could not even comprehend what kind of a thing conscience could be. One rogue to whom the Brethren explained at large the criminality of stealing, was immediately after detected in all kinds of theft. *(v)*

Among these hungry guests, there was a young man of the name of Mangek, who offered to reside constantly with the Brethren, if they would agree to maintain him; and he, on the other hand promised to bring them whatever he should catch by sea or land. They did not believe he would stay any longer than the scarcity lasted, but yet they accepted of the offer, hoping, at least, to obtain some assistance from him in perfecting themselves in the knowledge of language. At first there appeared no difference between him and the other savages; but by degress he began to manifest some concern

(u) Crantz's Hist. Green. vol. i. p. 378.
(v) Ibid. vol. i. p. 383.

about his everlasting welfare. On this account his countrymen derided and persecuted him; and not being able to entice him either to leave the missionaries or to follow their Heathenish practices, they endeavoured to make the Brethren put him away, charging him with secretly purloining several articles from them; but after a strict inquiry into the matter, they were obliged to acknowledge, that they themselves had invented the accusation. This Greenlander, indeed, afterwards left the missionaries, but yet in the meanwhile, he was useful to them by affording them some encouragement to persevere in their labours, notwithstanding the many toils and hardships which they had to endure. *(w)*

Indeed, these hopeful appearances in this young Greenlander were like that feeble light which ushers in the dawn of the morning. Five years had now elapsed since the missionaries landed in Greenland; yet hitherto they had toiled and laboured in vain, but now they began, at last, to witness the fruit of their unwearied exertions. A number of Southlanders happening to visit them, at a time when one of the Brethren was writing out a fair copy of a translation of some part of the gospels, they were curious to know what the book contained, and he was no less willing to gratify their wishes. After reading some portion of it to them, he asked them, Whether they had an immortal soul? To this they replied, Yes. He then enquired, Where their souls would go, when their bodies should die? Some answered, Up yonder; others said, Down to the abyss. Having set them right in these particulars, he asked them, Who made the heaven, and the earth, and all things? To this they replied, They did not know, nor had they ever heard; but certainly it must have been some great and powerful Being He then told them of the creation of the world, of the fall of man, of our misery in consequence of sin, and of our redemption through Jesus Christ. In speaking

(w) Crantz's Hist. Green. vol. i. p. 383.

on the latter subject, he was enabled to describe the sufferings and death of the Redeemer with more than ordinary force and energy; and he, at the same time, read to them from the New Testament, the history of his agony and of his bloody sweat in the garden. Upon this, one of the savages, named Kaiarnak, stepped up to the table, and in an earnest affecting manner exclaimed, "How was that? Tell me it once more; for I also would fain be saved!" These words, the like of which the missionary had never heard from the lips of a Greenlander, penetrated his whole soul, so that the tears rolled down his cheeks while he gave them a general view of the life and death of Christ, and of the plan of salvation through him. Meanwhile, the other Brethren came home from their labours, and began to speak to them still further concerning the way of salvation. Some of the savages laid their hands on their mouth, as is their usual practice when they are struck with wonder and amazement. Several, indeed, who had no relish for these things, slipped away secretly; but others of them requested they might be taught to pray; and when the missionaries did pray with them, they frequently repeated their expressions, that so they might not forget them. In short, there appeared such a serious concern among them as the Brethren had never beheld before among the Greenlanders. At taking leave, they promised soon to call again, and hear of these things; and they further engaged to speak to their countrymen concerning them. *(x)*

From that period, Kaiarnak made frequent visits to the missionaries, and at length he took up his residence with them. "When we speak to him," they say, "he is often so affected, that the tears roll down his cheeks. He is, indeed, a very particular man. We cannot but wonder at him when we consider, that the Greenlanders, in general, are so extremely stupid, that they can almost comprehend

(x) Crantz's Hist. Green. vol. i. p. 385.

nothing except those things they are conversant with daily. But this man scarcely hears a thing twice before he understands it, and retains it in his memory. At the same time, he shews an uncommon attachment to us, and a constant desire for further instruction, so that he seems to drink in every word which drops from our lips, a thing we never before observed in any Greenlander." *(y)*

Shortly after, three large families of Southlanders arrived with their baggage, and pitched their tents near the habitation of the Brethren. They came, they said, to hear the joyful news of salvation; and accordingly, they seemed much affected with the word; and several of them who had at first opposed it, declared that they would now believe. Most of them, indeed, went away soon after to hunt the reindeer; but they promised to return again towards winter. Kaiarnak, however, refused to accompany them, lest he should suffer injury in his spiritual interests which unhappily proved to be the case with the others; for though they returned agreeably to their promise, yet they had grown extremely wild, and after sometime they went away altogether. By this means, poor Kaiarnak was reduced to great distress, for he had now no tent of his own; and he said, this was the third time his friends had forsaken him, and had taken with them both the women's boat and the tent, though he had assisted in making them. The Brethren were much afraid lest his companions should succeed in enticing him away, as they embraced every opportunity of exaggerating the difficulties of his new situation; they contrasted the bondage which they said he would suffer, with the freedom which they enjoyed; they endeavoured to render his instructors odious and contemptible in his eyes, and to excite suspicions in his mind respecting their design. These trials, however, Kaiarnak bore with unshaken steadfastness. He even prevailed so far with some

(y) Crantz's Hist. Green. vol. i. p. 387.

of his nearest friends, that they resolved to return; and when the Brethren went to bring them, some other families begged that they would also allow them to come and settle with them. *(z)*

By this means, the Brethren, in the beginning of October, when the Greenlanders remove from their tents into their winter houses, had upwards of twenty of them lodged in their immediate neighbourhood. They soon after began to devote an hour every morning and evening to the exercise of prayer and catechising these poor people; and on the Lord's day, they read and explained some passages of the Holy Scriptures to them. They also selected five of them, whom they considered as the most suitable candidates for baptism, and took them under more immediate instruction. About the same time, they began a school with a few of the children; but at first they had a great deal of trouble with them, for it was no easy matter to keep the young creatures to their lesson, as they had never been accustomed to any kind of discipline, and even the parents themselves could not see the use of reading and writing. *(a)*

Besides these difficulties, the missionaries met with other trials from the inhabitants of their little settlement. After the return of the sun at the winter solstice, they were invited by the savages in the neighbourhood to a dance, and though they were warned against it, yet most of them secretly went. The Brethren, therefore, told them from the Holy Scriptures, how dearly such amusements had cost the people of God; and though in consequence of this, most of them seemed ashamed of their conduct, yet there were some who attempted to vindicate themselves by the example of others. They were exposed, indeed, to so many allurements, that the Brethren found it necessary to watch over them, as over young and tender plants, lest in so cold and tempestuous a

(z) Crantz's Hist. Green. vol. i. p. 388.
(a) Ibid. vol. i. p. 389.

country, the blossoms of divine grace should be blasted before they ripened into fruit. They therefore accompained them, as much as possible, on their fishing and hunting expeditions; and when they themselves went in search of wood, turf, or other necessaries, one of them always remained at home with the Greenlanders. *(b)*

In March 1739, the Brethren had the pleasure of receiving into the church, Kaiarnak and his family, who, after a trial of some months, afforded satisfactory evidence of a work of grace in their hearts, from the fruits that appeared in their life. The young converts, after giving a simple account of the ground of their hope before the whole assembly, and promising to renounce the follies of Heathenism, to abide with their teachers, and to walk worthy of the gospel, were baptized, with imposition of hands, in the name of the Father, of the Son, and of the Holy Ghost. An amazing impression was made by this transaction, not only on the baptized, whose tears flowed in streams down their cheeks, but also on the spectators, who ardently desired to become partakers of the same privilege, with the hope of which the Brethern comforted them, after exhorting them to surrender their whole hearts to God. *(c)*

This prospect, however, so bright and fair, threatened soon to set in darkness. Scarcely had a month elapsed, when a band of murderers killed Kaiarnak's brother-in-law, who also lived with the missionaries, under the pretence that he had conjured the ringleader's son to death. Having decoyed him out to sea, they, in a very perfidious manner, threw their harpoon into his body; and though he pulled it out again and fled to land, yet there they caught him, stabbed him in thirteen different places, and threw him over the rocks, where, after great search, his body was found it a pit and buried. As the murderers had likewise threatened to kill Kaiarnak and

(b) Crantz's Hist. Green. vol. i. p. 391.
(c) Ibid. vol. i. p. 400.

his other brother-in-law, the Greenlanders who resided with the Brethren were extremely terrified, and all of them thought of flying for their safety. The missionaries endeavoured to comfort them from the word of God. The gentlemen of the colony interested themselves in the affair, and took measures to bring the murderers to justice; and they were, at length, so fortunate as to take the ringleader and several others of the gang prisoners, in the presence of upwards of a hundred of their countrymen. On his examination, the wretch acknowledged, that besides this, he had been guilty of three different murders, and had likewise been accessory to three others. But as he was subject to no human judicature, and was ignorant of the law of God, they only read to him the ten commandments, threatened him sharply, and let him go: Two of his comrades, however, they punished with whipping, because they had been instructed in the word of God. But this, instead of dispelling, rather increased Kaiarnak's fears; and therefore, after wandering about for some time in great perplexity, he at last said, that he considered himself as obliged to conduct the brother of the deceased, whose life the ruffians chiefly sought, to some place of safety in the south, and that he himself would also take up his residence, with his elder brother, in that part of the country. Against this proposal the Brethren remonstrated in the strongest manner. They expressed their fears that so young a convert, and especially his two children, would soon grow wild again, should they live among the savages; they reminded him of the solemn promises he had lately made at baptism; they offered to maintain both him and his family, that they might have no occasion to go abroad as long as the murderers remained in the neighbourhood. By these representations he was touched to heart: He mingled his tears with those of the missionaries; but yet he could not resolve to stay. Before he left them, they once more exhorted him to faithfulness and good conduct among the Heathen, and recommended him in prayer to the protection of the Shepherd of Israel.

In the course of two weeks, they beheld, with regret, the country stripped of most of their Greenlanders, and were forced to bear this new reproach, that though they could baptize Heathens, they could not make them Christians, nor even wean them from their roving habits." *(d)*

Amidst the grief which these events occasioned them, the Brethren were somewhat comforted by other circumstances, of a more pleasing nature. Soon after the departure of the Greenlanders, twenty boats of the Southlanders passed that way, among whom were several of the friends of Simek, one of those who had taken flight. They mentioned that they had spoken with some of the fugitives by the way, that they had heard from them many wonderful things about God, and that they wished for further information concerning him. They also thanked the missionaries for the kindness they had shewn to their friends, especially in restoring Simek's wife to life, when she was given up for dead. The fact is, the Brethren had only recovered her from a violent fit, by means of a few drops of balsam; but yet this circumstance appears to have made a deep impression on the minds of these simple people. After some time, Simek came back with his family; and towards winter, most of the Greenlanders, whom they had lately saved from famine, returned to their old quarters, so that this season nine families wintered with them. * There was, therefore, now no want of hearers, nor

(d) Crantz's Hist. Green. vol. i. p. 401.

* A great number of Southlanders returning from the north, also called on the Brethren by the way. Among these there was a man who had so high an idea of himself, that he thought no Greenland woman good enough to be his wife; and therefore he came, one day, with a numerous train of attendants, to the house of the Brethren, when they were all from home, with the view of taking away young Anna Stach by force to be his wife. But as she understood their language, and heard what they said, she sprang into the house and bolted the door behind her. They tried to break it open, but happily they failed in the attempt. They endeavoured to cut the glass windows with their knives, imagining

were the labours of the Brethren among them altogether in vain. Most of them were persuaded to cast away the amulets and idolatrous charms which they used to hang about their bodies, in order to shield them from the attacks of disease and death; and they resolved no longer to observe a superstitious abstinence from certain kinds of food and labour, in cases of sickness and dissolution, but to place their hope and confidence in God alone. Many of them, however, had a hard conflict with themselves before they could be brought to form this resolution, and some even chose rather to go away than renounce these foolish practices. Most of them, indeed, were extremely fickle in their temper and behaviour. Sometimes they were drowsy, lukewarm, and insensible in hearing the word. On other occasions, they listened to it with much attention, seemed deeply impressed by it, were anxious to hear whatever was conducive to their happiness, and professed to believe all that was told them, though often without bestowing much reflection upon it. On the whole, however, the Brethren had much more cause to rejoice than mourn over them: The young people in particular, six of whom attended the school, afforded them the most agreeable hopes. *(e)*

(e) Crantz's Hist. Green. vol. i. p. 11.

they were made of the entrails of the seals like their own. Their knives, however, could not pierce them, and as they did not know they might easily be dashed in pieces, they went away, threatening to return again. Three days after, young Anna saw, at some distance, a woman's boat, and more than twenty kajaks making towards the settlement. A Greenland woman who was with her, immediately ran to the Danish colony and begged for help. The sailors there instantly seized whatever they could first lay hold of, as muskets, hatchets, sticks, and came sooner to the settlement than the Greenlanders were able to land, who, as soon as they saw so many Europeans, were glad to make off.—*Crantz's Hist. Green.* vol. i. p. 404. *Periodical Accounts relating to the Missions of the United Brethren*, vol. v. p. 357.

In the following year, 1740, a remarkable change took place in the Brethren's manner of instructing the Greenlanders, and it was attended with such singular effects, as to merit particular notice. Hitherto, they had been accustomed, in the first instance, to direct the attention of the Pagans to such truths as were of a preliminary nature, as the existence of God, the creation of the world, the fall of man, &c.; a mode of instruction, which appears *a priori*, not merely the most rational, but even the only plan they could have pursued with the smallest prospect of success. It is worthy of observation, however, that reduced to practice, it had proved not only almost entirely ineffectual, but even seemed a bar to the conversion of the Heathen. Now, however, they began to adopt a different method, and directed the attention of the savages, in the first instance, to Christ Jesus, to his incarnation, his life, and especially to his sufferings and death. In discoursing of these things, the Brethren themselves were often so much impressed, that they spoke in a manner entirely new; the subject so warmed and animated their own hearts, that the words flowed from their lips with wonderful fervour and affection; and they were even astonished at each others powers of utterance. Happily, this was attended with correspondent effects on the poor Greenlanders. It illuminated their darkened understanding, melted their stubborn hearts, and kindled in their cold icy breasts the flame of spiritual life. This, therefore, may be considered as a new era in the history of the Greenland mission. *(f)* *

Of late, indeed, the missionaries had beheld some little fruit of their labours. The conversion of Kaiarnak and his

(f) Crantz's Hist. Green. vol. ii. p. 2. 27. 424.

* This observation certainly deserves the particular attention of Christian missionaries. It was the result of the experience of the United Brethren, not only in Greenland, but in most other places where they have established missions, as well as of other missionaries, in different parts of the world. We are

family, they would have considered as a rich reward for all their toils, had not his sudden flight dashed all their hopes, and pierced them with sorrows. Of his return, they entertained little or no expectation. How exquisite then was their joy, when, after about a year's absence, he suddenly stepped in among them, while they were celebrating the marriage dinner of the missionary Boehnish, with young Anna Stach! He not only returned safe, without having sustained any material injury in his spiritual interests, but he brought with him his brother and his family, to gain whom, it appears, was one principal object of his expedition. He told the missionaries, that all he had heard from them, he had made known to his countrymen in the south; that, at first, they heard it with pleasure and wonder, but afterwards they became tired of it, and turned the whole into ridicule. He then endeavoured to hold communion with the Saviour alone, and every day he held an hour of prayer with his family. Of late, he had longed exceedingly

far, indeed, from supposing that a missionary should confine his instructions to this subject; but yet, as the death of Christ is the foundation of the Christian system, we certainly think it should hold a prominent place in all his discourses to the Heathen. This observation of the United Brethren accords, in a remarkable manner, with the conduct of the Apostle Paul, and places in a new and more forcible light, some of the declarations of that illustrious man: "The Jews," says he, "require a sign, and the Greeks seek after wisdom, but we preach CHRIST CRUCIFIED, unto the Jews a stumbling block, and to the Greeks foolishness."—"When I came to you, I came not with excellency of speech or of wisdom. For I determined not to know ANY thing among you, save JESUS CHRIST, and him CRUCIFIED."—"God forbid that I should glory, save in the CROSS of our Lord Jesus Christ." It is probable the Apostle Paul made the death of Christ the principal subject of his preaching, not only on account of the important place which it held in the Christian system, but because it was the grand mean of the conversion of the Gentiles.

to return to the Brethren; and now, he should never leave them more, for even during his absence, he had felt how much they loved both him and his children. *(g)*

Besides Kaiarnak's family, there were several others of the Greenlanders who now began to feel a serious concern for their souls; but no sooner did this appear, than they were exposed to the contempt and ridicule of their neighbours. Their exhortations and examples, however, produced very salutary effects on many of their countrymen. The missionaries sometimes took them with them in their visits to the Heathen, in order to exhibit them as living epistles of the power and pleasure of religion. The testimony which the young converts bore on these occasions to the love and grace of the Redeemer, was often so fervent and striking, that numbers of the savages were filled with amazement, and deeply impressed with a sense of their need of salvation. In the absence of the Brethren, Kaiarnak frequently held meetings for prayer with the other Greenlanders; and Sarah, a young woman who was baptized about this time, was also exceedingly active among them. When any were impressed by the word, she entered into frequent conversation with them about the state of their souls, directed them to Christ Jesus as "the Lamb of God which taketh away the sin of the world," and embraced, in short, every opportunity of promoting their everlasting happiness. The Heathen also, who came from distant places, were often much impressed by the exhortations of the young converts. They were particularly struck when Kaiarnak or Sarah related to them the circumstances of their conversion; but what astonished them most of all was their prayers. In token of their wonder, the savages used to lay their hand on their mouth; and imagining that the converts had merely committed them to memory, they were eager to learn them also, but they were told,

(g) Crantz's Hist. Green. vol. ii. p. 2, 6.

they must first feel their misery, and then a sense of distress would teach them how to express their desires in prayer. *(h)*

The missionaries, indeed, now derived the most essential service from the young converts. About this time they began to translate the Harmony of the Four Gospels into the Greenland language, a work in which they were much assisted by Kaiarnak and Sarah. The Brethren often remarked, that they used expressions, especially in prayer, which it would have been impossible for them ever to have discovered from their intercourse with the other Greenlanders, or by any rules of grammar. They therefore took particular notice of such phrases, and learned to speak from the young converts after these had learned to think from them. They now saw the propriety of the resolution which they had early taken, not to converse with the Greenlanders on the subject of religion while they were imperfectly acquainted with their language, for such equivocal expressions were even still pointed out to them by an upright mind, as the knavish crafty savages might have taken occasion to prevert to many improper and idolatrous purposes. *(i)*

It was not long, however, before they lost the assistance of Kaiarnak, the first fruits of the mission. In February, 1741, he was seized with a pleurisy; and though the stitches and the difficulty of breathing were extremely severe, yet he supported his affliction with wonderful patience and tranquility. When those around him talked to him about earthly things, he desired them not to encumber his heart with such affairs, for he had the Saviour constantly in his mind. Once when they began to weep, he said to them: "Don't be grieved about me: Have you not often heard that believers, when they die, go to our Saviour, and partake of eternal joy? You know that I am the first of you who was converted to

(h) Crantz's Hist. Green. vol. ii. p. 6, 9.
(i) Ibid. vol. ii. p. 11; vol. i. p. 899.

the Saviour; and now it is his will I should be the first who should go to him. If you are faithful unto death, we shall see each other again before the throne of the Lamb, and rejoice for ever at the grace he has manifested to us." At length, after a short illness of six days, he breathed his last, in the hope of glory, honour, and immortality beyond the grave: His peaceful departure appeared to make a deep impression on many of his countrymen. By such means as these, the missionaries were furnished with an answer to an observation which the Heathen often made as an apology for their neglect of the gospel: "You," said they, "are a different kind of people from us: It is your profession; you have both time and ability to think of these things." But now they beheld examples of their own countrymen, who originally were no better than themselves, and yet had embraced the gospel, were transformed by its sacred influence, and exhibited its happy effects, not only in life, but in the midst of affliction, and in the agonies of death. *(k)*

But though the Christian Greenlanders afforded the Brethren much satisfaction, they were by no means without their imperfections. Several of them, for instance, now began to betray a spirit of pride, arrogance, and self-conceit. No sooner had they obtained some knowledge of the gospel, and were able to speak of it to others, than they set themselves up for teachers, and entertained very high ideas of their own acquirements. This was particularly the case with Sarah, who, of late, had become very petulant and unruly. The Brethren, therefore, spoke seriously to her on the subject, reminded her of the obligations she was under to the Saviour, and exhorted her to remain faithful to his cause and interest. It appeared, that the source from which the whole evil had sprung, was lofty thoughts of herself, on account of her diligence in labouring among the Heathen, and the success which had crowned her efforts. They therefore pointed

(k) Crantz's Hist. Green. vol. ii. p. 14, 29.

out to her the corruption of her heart, shewed her its wayward wanderings, and desired her to consider the deplorable condition she was in, when the Saviour first took compassion upon her. Upon these representations, her heart relented; she burst into tears, and lamented her sin and folly with the bitterest expressions of sorrow. When desired to pray, she could not utter a word for weeping; but from that time she appeared very lowly in her own eyes. The missionaries now found, that it was necessary to proceed with the utmost caution, in instructing their people; that one of the chief lessons they would have to inculcate on them was humility; and that, on calling them forth to recommend the grace of the Redeemer to their countrymen, they should earnestly exhort them to rejoice not so much in the success of their labours, as "because their own names were written in heaven." *(l)*

In October 1742, the number of Greenlanders who came to reside in their winter houses near the Brethren amounted to thirty. These they endeavoured to reduce into some kind of order, with regard both to their temporal and their spiritual concerns. At the catechetical exercises, and the other meetings, they regularly read to them the Harmony of the Gospels, which was now finished; and they also taught them some hymns, which the poor creatures learned with great eagerness, and which seemed to afford them peculiar pleasure, for they sung them perpetually, both at home and abroad. In their meetings, such powerful impressions were often made, both on the speaker and the hearers, that they mingled their tears together, and were scarcely able to proceed with the exercise. The missionaries also now began to form them into little associations, called bands or classes, in which four or five individuals of the same sex, and in similar circumstances, conversed freely with each other concerning the state of their hearts, and their progress in the knowledge

(l) Crantz's Hist. Green. vol. ii. p. 29.

of religion. One of the Brethren or Sisters had the superintendance of each of the classes, of which there were at this time two among the men, and four among the women. *(m)* *

In 1743 and the two following years, the prospects of the missionaries became brighter than ever: the effects of the gospel were so amazing, that it seemed as if a general awakening of the Greenlanders was about to take place in that part of the country. It is true, only between forty and fifty were baptized within that period, most of the others not having resolution enough to forsake their usual places of hunting and fishing, and to fix their residence with the Brethren for the purpose of enjoying regular instruction. But though, in consequence of this, many of them for a season, lost their first serious impressions, and some even wandered to the southern or the northern parts of the country, yet most of them afterwards returned, became concerned about their souls, and were admitted as members

(m) Crantz's Hist. Green. vol. ii. p. 31.

* About this time, Daniel Shneider, one of the Brethren, was lost on his return to Europe. The missionaries were desirous that he should have remained with them another year; but as he had no express instructions from the congregation to stay, and as he could not accommodate himself to the Greenland mode of living, they dismissed him in peace. He sent them intelligence from the southern colony, Frederick's Hope, where the captain was obliged to unload part of his cargo, that he was well. But after that, neither he nor the ship was ever heard of. This, we are informed by Crantz, was the only brother who was lost at sea, in the many voyages to and from Greenland, notwithstanding the imminent dangers which attend them, from the mountains of ice, the violence of the storms, and the rockiness of the shore: (*Crantz's Hist. Green.* vol. ii. p. 25.) Since he wrote his history, however, an accident of a similar kind has occurred. In 1786, the unmarried brother Heinze, and the widow Konigseer, in returning from Greenland to Germany, were lost at sea, with the ship and the whole of the crew. *MSS. Accounts in the Author's possession.*

of the congregation; while others prosecuted their inquiries after divine truth at the Danish colonies, and were there received into the bosom of the Christian church. From this period, indeed, the whole Greenland nation displayed a new and improved temper towards foreigners, whom at first they had so hated, dreaded, or despised. Many who formerly derided and mal-treated the Brethren, now came and begged their pardon; and even those who once were the most intractable, stood along the shores as the missionaries sailed by, entreated them to land, and tell them the words of God. *(n)*

As it was impossible for the Brethren to make so frequent or so extensive visits among the Heathen as the loudness of the call demanded, they were obliged, in many cases, to rest satisfied with the simple testimony of the young converts, when they went abroad in search of provisions. But though the scattering of their little flock in summer ultimately promoted the extension of the gospel, the missionaries often felt the most painful emotions, and the most anxious solicitude, at the prospect of their departure, lest any evil should befal them, from the numerous snares and temptations to which they would be exposed. On one of these occasions, they sent for all the baptized, both men and women, and spoke with them separately, before parting with them. They were like Jacob when he dismissed Benjamin, his beloved son. They entreated them with tears in their eyes, not to forget the Lord Jesus, who was crucified for them, and to watch over their own hearts, while surrounded with temptations from the Heathen. This the young converts promised to do, and praised the Lord for the grace he had manifested to them during the winter. The Brethren then blessed them and kissed them, and went down with them to the strand. There they once more addressed them, from these words of the apostle: "And now, brethren, I commend you to God, and to the

(n) Crantz's Hist. Green. vol. ii. p. 34, 38.

word of his grace, which is able to build you up, and to give you an inheritance among all them which are sanctified." The Greenlanders then set off in their boats, and the missionaries, in the meanwhile, sung a hymn on the shore. In the course of the summer, some of the converts frequently came to see them, and informed them of whatever circumstance occurred among them. In those cases, where several of them met together in the same place, nothing could be more conspicuous than the brotherly love they manifested toward each other; even the Heathen bore testimony to their exemplary behaviour. There were, however, some instances of misconduct among them; and therefore, on their return, the Brethren spoke with them, one by one, in order to remove every kind of misunderstanding between them, before restoring them to their separate meetings, and the kiss of charity as a token of their closer fellowship. On this occasion, most of them displayed remarkable ingenuousness, acknowledging their faults with readiness, and begging each other's pardon with tears. *(o)*

With regard to the Heathen, the accounts which the Christian Greenlanders gave of them on their return, was, on the whole, of a favourable nature. One of the baptized found several of the men sitting together, talking with concern about their souls; and they even constrained him to sit down, and converse with them. A man who had never been baptized, and who had even manifested an enmity to the gospel, but yet could not leave his brother who had embraced it, was one day called upon by some of the Heathen to tell them of the good news of salvation. His heart immediately smote him; he burst into tears, and began to pray, acknowledging his own sinful miserable condition. At a place further north than the missionaries usually went, one of the baptized found some Heathens, who were extremely desirous to hear the gospel. They urged him to sit and talk with them the whole night. The second night he stole away

(o) Crantz's Hist. Green. vol. ii. p. 38, 39, 45.

into a little hut to get some rest; but they, discovering his retreat, obliged him to rise, and gratify their desire of further conversation. A celebrated Angekok, at this place, dreamed that he was in hell, and that he heard and saw things which it was not possible to utter. He wept two whole days together, and then told the people he would no longer deceive them with his sorceries. *(p)*

After this general awakening had lasted about three years, it began in 1746 to subside among the Greenlanders. Many of those who had heard the gospel and been impressed by it, were still undetermined, and endeavoured to get rid of their convictions, and even to deter others by force or fraud from joining the congregation. The Angekoks, in particular, afraid of losing their reputation, and the profits of their impostures, laboured to terrify the poor people by the strangest inventions, and the most ridiculous tales. One of these deceivers, in order to shew that the gospel was a mere fiction invented by the foreigners, remarked that some of the believers had died, though their teachers had promised that such as believed in the Son of God should never die. This, however, he was afterwards so ingenuous as to acknowledge was designedly a false interpretation of their words, with a view of misleading his countrymen. There was also a conjuror who brought heavy charges against the Christians, maintaining, that their new doctrine and way of life, frightened away the sea-fowl, after he, by his art, had released them from the subterranean regions. A strange Angekok came and warned the people not to listen to the believers, for that he had performed a journey to heaven with the view of ascertaining how it went with the souls of the deceased Greenlanders, and that he there found all the baptized in a most deplorable condition, without food and raiment; while those who had not received the gospel were blessed with affluence and plenty. A frightful report was also brought of a Christian Greenlander, who had died at the northern

(p) Crantz's Hist. Green. vol. ii. p. 49.

colony and appeared again, perfectly naked, saying, that he had been thrust into a dark dismal hole, where he endured the most exquisite misery. Such of the savages as sought an apology for neglecting the gospel, readily credited these foolish stories, and added, that the Europeans inflicted these punishments upon them, because the Greenlanders had murdered their ancestors; and though such as were now in the country did no harm to their bodies, yet they endeavoured to render their souls miserable hereafter. Most of them, however, paid little regard to these idle fictions, and as soon as the first impressions of them were effaced, they came in great numbers to visit the Brethren, and to hear the word, especially if they understood that any of the converts were to be baptized. *(q)*

Meanwhile the little flock of Christian Greenlanders increased both in numbers and in grace. Many painful circumstances, indeed, occasionally occurred among them; but nothing else could be expected in a congregation collected from among savage Heathens, since the church of Christ on earth, even in best estate, is only an hospital of sick people, who have begun to recover, but have yet the seeds of disease in their constitution, and are still liable to partial relapses. Their intercourse with their Heathen countrymen was attended with no small danger to their spiritual interests; yet it could not be altogether avoided, as they were obliged to be often and long abroad in search of food. On these occasions, the savages, as they were no longer able to withstand the force of the truth, had recourse to every species of allurement to seduce the converts to join in their revelings, that so they themselves might have an excuse for resisting and stifling the convictions of their own minds. The more, indeed, that the baptized and the catechumens experienced the advantages of daily instruction, and the many inconveniences attending their being scattered abroad, the more

(q) Crantz's Hist. Green. vol. ii. p. 54, 70, 78.

they endeavoured to live together under the inspection of their teachers, and the more cordially did they submit to the external rules of the congregation, which they saw aimed at their spiritual prosperity, not at their temporal subjection. When, therefore, they were under the necessity of going to the fishing among the islands, they went almost all to one place, that they might hold their meetings together; and as soon as they procured what was sufficient, they hastened back to their teachers. They were, indeed, more and more sensible of the love of the missionaries towards them, since, notwithstanding their own accumulated outward labour, one or other of them always devoted his time to their service, either going to sea with them, or visiting them frequently; and when none of them could be with them, the converts followed the advice of the helpers and band-keepers, who informed the Brethren from time of whatever occurred among them. On the whole, indeed, the missionaries had abundant cause to rejoice over them as their spiritual children whom they had begotten in Christ Jesus, and to stand amazed at their growth in knowledge and in grace, especially considering that they were so lately not only Pagans, but the most brutish and degraded of the human race. *(r)*

The accounts received from Greenland had hitherto excited the most lively gratitude and joy in all the Brethren's congregations in Europe, and the complaints of the missionaries, that, owing to the want of room, it was impossible to maintain that order in their meetings which they wished, produced such a powerful effect at the Synod held about this time at Zeyst, that some of the more wealthy members resolved to have a large timber house made in Holland, according to the directions of John Beck who was then present, and to send it to Greenland in a ship freighted solely for that purpose. Some of the Brethren offered to go

(r) Crantz's Hist. Green. vol. ii. p. 69, 78, 80, 93, 95.

with it, in order to erect and finish it; and among others, the aged venerable Christian David seized this opportunity to go out in the capacity of master-builder. He had erected the first hut for the missionaries in that country, and the first school-house for the Greenlanders; and when he left them soon after, he scarcely expected that the former would grow too small, or that the latter would ever be inhabited. He was now, however, to carry them a church, and therefore made all possible despatch, that he might have the singular felicity of beholding the consummation of so good a work. After a favourable voyage to Cape Farewell, they were driven about, four weeks longer, by contrary winds, but they at length arrived in safety in June 1747. After laying the foundation of the church, they laboured with so much diligence and zeal at the building, that, notwithstanding the powerful obstacles which lay in the way, it was completed before the beginning of winter. At the consecration of the chapel, John Beck, who, during his late visit to Europe had received priest's orders, preached a sermon, in the course of which he reminded his hearers of the aspect of the mission only a few years before, when the most that could be done was to pray behind the rocks with many tears to the Father of mercies for the conversation of the Greenlanders; that these prayers were heard, was best attested by the existence of the present congregation: Indeed, God had done more for them than they expected, or than had even entered into their hearts to ask; by the assistance of their friends in Europe, he had now furnished them with a house and church, in which they would have the privilege of meeting together to hear the word of God, and to enjoy the other ordinances of religion. At a subsequent meeting, the same day, such a spirit of grace and love pervaded the assembly, that it seemed as if the converts were intoxicated with joy, and scarcely knew how to part. *(s)*

(s) Crantz's Hist. Green. vol. ii. p. 97.

The missionaries had hitherto been afraid to admit any of the Greenland converts to the Lord's Supper, lest they should afterwards apostatise and disgrace their Christian profession; but they now resolved to admit three of them to that holy ordinance. On being informed of this, and having the nature of the institution explained to them, the candidates were so filled with joy, mingled with emotions of shame, that they knew not what to say. When they afterwards partook of the ordinance, a solemn awe overpowered their hearts, and a flood of tears rolled down their cheeks: "It was," they said, "as if their body had sunk into the dust, and their spirit taken its flight to heaven. All their thoughts centred in this, Oh! how is it possible our Saviour should so dearly love poor sinful men." Such were the pleasing effects of the first Greenland communion. *(t)*

Though we see no reason for the observation of the festivals appointed by certain churches; yet as the United Brethren think fit to observe many of these days, it may not be uninteresting to notice the manner in which Christmas was celebrated in Greenland, as an illustration of the spirit both of the missionaries and of the converts. After a discourse, the evening before, on the birth of Christ, they sung some German and Greenland verses relative to that important event, and then united together in worshipping the child Jesus. The converts were so full of joy, that many of them sat up and sung Christmas hymns during the whole of the night. The Brethren, therefore, called them again together into the church, by the sound of trumpets, at half past three in the morning. After a short discourse on the humiliation of Christ, they delivered to them presents of knives, needles, &c. which had been sent to them by some children in Germany as a token of their love and remembrance. They then proceeded, with most of the adults, to the Danish colony, and having awakened the inhabitants with their music, they held a Christmas-singing hour together, in the room

(t) Crantz's Hist. Green. vol. ii. p. 94, 102.

which was used as their church. When they returned to New Herrnhuth, (for that was the name they now gave their own settlement,) all the people of the colony followed them. In the meanwhile, such as remained at home had illuminated the church and all the windows with burning muscle shells instead of candles, in a simple yet beautiful manner. One of the missionaries then preached the Christmas sermon from these words of the angel: "Behold I bring you good tidings of great joy which shall be to all people; for unto you is born this day, in the city of David, a Saviour which is Christ the Lord." After another occasion of the same kind, some of the Greenlanders were heard to say: "Oh! how many nights have we waked and revelled with Heathenish mirth; but hitherto we have been strangers to such joys as these!" *(u)*

To this account of the celebration of Christmas, it may not be improper to add an instance of the manner in which the congregation observed the Greenland vigils, on the last night of the year. After a homily on these words of the Apostle: "I determined not to know any thing among you save Jesus Christ, and him crucified," the Brethren reminded them of the love and grace which the Saviour had manifested toward them hitherto, particularly during the last twelvemonth, in the course of which no fewer than fifty-two were baptized. There was no occasion, however, to exhort them to thankfulness: the tears which they shed, and the serious aspect of their looks, were a sufficient indication of the gratitude of their hearts. The missionaries afterwards read the names of the baptized, beginning with those of that year, and proceeding backwards in the order in which they had been received, and sung some benedictory verses for each class. When they came to the names of those who were first baptized, a holy awe pervaded the whole assembly. They all fell down on their knees, with one consent, and blessed the Lamb of God, with a thousand tears, for all the

(u) Crantz's Hist. Green. vol. ii. p. 104, 66.

mercy and all the truth he had manifested toward them. It was two in the morning before they separated; and though the missionaries had enjoyed many happy days in Greenland, yet never before had they beheld such a powerful emotion, or such a flood of tears amongst the little flock which they had collected from amongst the savages of the North Pole. *(v)*

In the course of their various labours among the Greenlanders, the Brethren had often to encounter no small hardships and dangers; but yet, in the midst of all, the Lord appeared as their deliverer. Once, when two of them had sailed to the distance of about six leagues, in search of wood, they were obliged to remain no less than eight days on an uninhabited island, exposed to all the violence of three dreadful storms, without either a house or a tent to shelter them. During the last four or five days, they had nothing to eat but shell fish, and even of these they could scarcely procure enough to satisfy the cravings of hunger. At length, they ventured to return homewards; but scarcely had they set foot on shore, when there arose such a terrible storm, that it was with difficulty they secured and sheltered their boat. About the same time, John Beck and two new assistants from Europe were in most imminent danger of their lives, on arriving on the shores of Greenland. After reaching the latitude of Good Hope, they durst not approach the land, on account of the violence of the storms; but were obliged to proceed about eighty leagues to the north, before they could venture to set off, in the new boat which they had brought with them from Holland. Even then the captain advised them to wait another opportunity, as he was afraid they might be murdered by the savages who inhabited that part of the country, and who had an exceedingly bad character. They resolved, however, to make the attempt. The day was calm and serene when they set off in their boat; but in the evening, as they were attempting to cross a

(v) Crantz's Hist. Green. vol. ii. p. 105.

broad inlet, the wind arose all of a sudden, and threatened to drive them into the wide ocean. After long and severe rowing they, at length, reached a lonely uninhabited island. Here they were obliged to remain without either house or tent, for two days and three nights; and to add to their distress, they had, in lightening the boat during the storm, thrown into the sea, among other articles, their implements for striking fire, so that they now suffered very severely, both from wet and cold. They had, however, a small quantity of bread and cheese, as also some bottles of wine, but these had frozen and burst, owing to the severity of cold, and hence, they were obliged to eat the snow. At night, they lay in a hole dug in the snow, and covered themselves with the sail of their boat. On leaving this place, on the third day, they came to the first Greenland house in Omenak, and were received by the inhabitants in a friendly manner; but as that quarter of the country was notorious for the murder of several navigators, they kept a strict watch during the whole of the night. After sailing in their boat for six days longer, in the course of which they suffered a variety of other hardships and dangers, they, at length, arrived in safety, at the settlement of New Herrnhuth. *(w)*

In 1750, when the Greenlanders removed from their tents into their winter houses, they amounted to upwards of three hundred, and the number who had been baptized, within little more than eleven years, was no fewer than two hundred and fifty-six. In that part of the country, it was formerly deemed impossible for two families to find subsistence; yet this great number of persons not only subsisted, but were able to afford relief to those who were in need, though there had been such famines in other places, almost every year, that even where provision used to be most plentiful, many had died of want. Some of the savages from Kangek had lately buried an old man alive, and when they were called to an account for their conduct, they pleaded in

(w) Crantz's Hist. Green. vol. ii. p. 90.

excuse, that it was done at his daughter's request because he had got a putrid hand, and could do nothing for his own support! The Christian Greenlanders had never been reduced to such extremity, for they had learned not only to pray, but to work, and even to be good economists. They now, indeed, enjoyed great advantages for the preservation of their provisions in the store-houses, which were lately erected for the use of them and the missionaries. Christian David, when he was in Greenland, with the new church, observed the need which they had for some accommodation of this kind, as for want of it their dried meat, fish, capelins, and other articles, which they preserved under heaps of stones, were often either half devoured by the foxes and ravens, or reduced to a state of putrefaction, and this was apt to be succeeded by scarcity or infectious disorders. He had, therefore, returned sometime ago, with suitable materials, and erected a large store-house for the Greenlanders, and a small one, together with a wood-house, for the missionaries. *(x)*

In the beginning of 1752, there was one of the most dreadful winters in Greenland that ever was known; and in this, as well as several of the following years, the inhabitants suffered all the horrors of famine, in consequence of the extreme severity of the weather. From February to Easter, the cold was perfectly horrible. The inlets were so frozen and blocked up with ice, that frequently not a kajak could stir in the water. The weather was so unsettled and so tempestuous, that the people could seldom go abroad, and when they made the attempt, it was not only at the risk of their life, but was attended with little or no advantage, for they rarely caught even a single bird. Imminent, however, as was the danger, only one of the congregation was lost. He was carried away in a violent tempest, by the impetuosity of the waves, and was not found until three months after, when he was discovered in his kajak, half

(x) Crantz's Hist. Green. vol. ii. p. 133, 135, 138, 124, 129.

devoured by the ravens and foxes. One day, the storm was so awfully tremendous, that the like of it was not remembered by any of the Greenlanders. The waves shattered the new and largest boat of the missionaries, though it was drawn upon the shore, and tied to a post. A few days after, there was such a dreadful hurricane, attended with lightning, that their dwelling-house and chapel were nearly thrown down; they tottered and cracked like a ship in a storm. By these means, the poor Greenlanders were reduced to the utmost extremity, being in danger of perishing either by cold or hunger. The Brethren constantly allowed one company after another to come into their rooms, in order to warm themselves. They also distributed dried capelins among such of the families as were poor; and when these were exhausted, they supplied them from their stock of pease. At the same time, they exhorted, the wealthy Greenlanders not to shut up their bowels of compassion against their indigent Brethren and Sisters; but to impart provisions to them as long as they had any remaining, without taking thought for the morrow. This had so good an effect, that, among the communicants at least, it needed no repetition. By such means as these, they were kept from starving till the beginning of March, when the ice was so far broken up, that some of them made their way to the islands. Most of them, however, soon came back, as they were not able to do so much there as even at home, owing to the storminess of the weather. The return of the rest was prevented, partly by the intense cold, which soon after ensued, and froze the ice as far as the eye could reach, partly by a tempest which shattered most of their boats to pieces. *(y)*

Aggravated, however, as were the sufferings of the Christian Greenlanders at New Herrnhuth, the miseries of the savages, in other parts of the country, were inexpressibly more terrible. Mr. Dalager, the factor of the colony,

(y) Crantz's Hist. Green. vol. ii. p. 157.

having gone, one season, to a place about twenty leagues to the south, on the blubber trade, returned with nothing but the melancholy tidings of people perishing with hunger. Along with him he brought a little girl, whom the savages, for want of food, had twice laid in a distant cave, that, like Hagar of old, they might not see her die; but on finding her alive two days after, they cast her naked into the sea. One of them, however, touched with compassion, flew to her assistance, and snatched her from a watery grave: but though he saved her life, he was not able to sustain it, for he had nothing to give her to eat. Mr. Dalager happened to come to this place immediately after, and, on hearing her melancholy story, he ordered the poor creature to be brought to him. She was now spent to a skeleton, through cold and hunger; yet the spark of life was not quite extinguished. Compassionating her wretched condition, he clothed and fed her with his own hands, and afterwards sent her to the Brethren, with an offer to assist any poor widow who would undertake the charge of her. *(z)*

But dreadful as was the famine this season, instead of being alleviated, it appears to have been aggravated the following year. The islands were so enclosed with ice, it was impossible for the savages to go in quest of food, and such a dreadful scarcity ensued, as no European, in the country, had ever witnessed. Account followed account of children perishing with hunger, in one part of the country, and of the old helpless people being buried alive in another. In a visit which two of the missionaries paid to Kangek, they found, in one place, fifteen persons nearly starved to death. They were lying in a house so small and so low, that it was impossible to stand upright in it; and the only way of entering it, was by creeping in on the belly. They had no fire, but lay one upon another, in all directions, in order to keep themselves warm. Neither had they a morsel to eat; such, indeed, was their extreme weakness, that when the

(z) Crantz's Hist. Green. vol. ii. p. 249.

missionaries entered, they did not care to raise themselves, or even to speak to them. At length, a man brought a couple of fishes from the sea. A girl seized one of them, raw as it was, tore it in pieces with her teeth, and gorged it down with the utmost voracity. She looked as pale as death. Indeed, four of the children of these poor creatures had already died of hunger. The Brethren distributed among them, a part of their own small pittance, and advised them to remove to the settlement at New Herrnhnth. Accordingly, they came thither soon after; but, at first, it was scarcely possible to satisfy their hunger. Their appetite was so keen, that they went to the very dust heaps, in search of fish bones, already sufficiently chewed, and even of pieces of old shoes. To these and many others of their destitute countrymen, the Christian Greenlanders communicated supplies with the utmost cheerfulness, though they had often to make a hard enough shift for themselves. *(a)*

But though numbers of the savages were driven to New Herrnhuth, by the severity of the famine, yet neither the afflictions of life, nor the kindness of their Brethren made any serious impression on their minds. The aversion which they had to their Christian countrymen was so rooted, that it was even with extreme reluctance, that the half starving people now mentioned, resolved to apply to them for assistance: And though they came and obtained relief, not one of them remained, not even such as had relations in the place, who spared no pains to induce them to stay. The same was also the case with others of the savages. No sooner was their hunger satisfied, than they hastened away as from a place infected by the plague. It was evident that the judgment of many of them was convinced of the excellence of Christianity, but yet their heart would not receive it. They admired the fine order of the converts; they could not but acknowledge that they led a happier life, and and suffered less from external want than other Greenlanders,

(a) Crantz's Hist. Green. vol. ii. p. 258, 260.

yet such was their dislike of religion, that they would not stay among them, and many of them even ran away as soon as the name of the Saviour was mentioned. *(b)*

Famine, however, was not the only calamity which now visited this ill-fated country. In 1754, several Dutch ships having run into Ball's river to avoid the ice, numbers of the Greenlanders, both Christians and Heathens, went on board, and were treated with foreign victuals, particularly pease, which they ate to the greater excess, as hunger had for some months past whetted their appetites. It was at length discovered, though too late, that a contagious distemper prevailed in these vessels, at least in one of them; and it was not long before it broke out, first among the Heathen, and then among the Christian Greenlanders, and carried off vast numbers of them, for at least fourteen leagues round the colony. During the time that it raged, which was about three months, scarcely a day passed at New Herrnhuth without a funeral: and, in one instance, four corpses were laid in the grave on the same day, namely, two brothers, their nephew, and a child. Some also died in other places, who could not be brought thither for burial, as at least one half of the people lay sick. The case of these was the harder, not only as they were in great want of the necessaries of life, but were also at such a distance, and so dispersed among the islands, that it was impossible they could be duly attended to, especially as the weather was extremely stormy. Had suitable remedies been early administered to them, it is probable many of them might have recovered. The whole number of Christian Greenlanders who died this year was fifty-seven, and of these thirty-five were supposed to have been carried off by this contagious disorder. Many of them, on their deathbed, exhibited pleasing proofs of the power of religion on their hearts. Perhaps, no people on earth have such a horror at death as the Greenlanders; yet many of the Christian converts not only exercised patience and resignation

(b) Crantz's Hist. Green. vol. ii. p. 263.

to the will of God under their affliction, but were full of peace, tranquility, and joy. Thus, the sorrow of the missionaries at their loss, and the pleasure they felt at their happy departure, were held, as it were, in an equal balance. *(c)*

But as among the Greenlanders who died, there were some of the principal heads of families, the number of widows and orphans, which was large before, was by this means greatly augmented. On the return of the others to their winter quarters, it was therefore necessary to make suitable arrangements for the support of those who were now left destitute of their providers. In those cases where there was a son who was able to maintain his mother and the rest of the family, this duty was of course assigned to him. Such children as were only rising to manhood, were distributed in other families, with the view of being trained up to the usual occupations of the country. Those who were not yet able to engage in these were left with their mothers; or if the poor children were bereaved of them also, they were placed under the care of some of the Greenland Sisters; and if they were only infants at the breast, such of the women as were then nursing, were obliged to suckle them by turns. In these arrangements, most of the Greenlanders acted in a manner highly becoming their Christian profession; and some who were not rich, put to shame others who were more wealthy. It may easily, however, be conceived, that the missionaries must have met with no small difficulty, in making such arrangements as were satisfactory to all parties. At the same time, they took their own share of the burden, being at the expence of clothing some of the poor children, and of furnishing many of the boys with boats and other utensils, that they might learn to provide for themselves and their relations; for they were determined to afford no encouragement to indolence or idleness, but chose rather to spend a little upon them in early life, to enable them to

(c) Crantz's Hist. Green. vol. ii. p. 215, 217, 219, 221, 238.

work with their own hands, than by neglecting them in their youth, to allow them to remain a burden on the community. It is not unworthy of observation, that the women nursing the poor motherless infants, was, in a particular manner, a proof of the power of religion on their hearts. There is nothing, perhaps, to which the Greenland females have so rooted an aversion, as the suckling of strange children, lest their own child should have a rival in their affections. Hence, among the savages, when a woman dies, and leaves an infant behind her, the unfortunate father has no other resource, but to bury it alive immediately, that so he may not behold his little babe lingering to death before his eyes. In such cases, a Greenland woman has no thought, or feeling of compassion; yet the gospel, by its transforming influence, overcame this barbarous prejudice. *(d)*

Of the power of Christianity, in expanding the heart, and exciting the principle of benevolence in the breast even of the most fierce and lawless savages, the Brethren had some time after another very striking proof. It was customary with them, at some of their meetings, to read to their Greenland flock, the accounts which they received from their congregations in Europe, and particularly from the missions among the Heathen. By these a very lively impression was often produced on the converts; but nothing of this kind ever touched them so sensibly, as the account of the destruction of the Indian settlement at Guadenhuetten, in Pennsylvania, by some of the savages in November 1775.* When they were told, that the most of the European Brethren and Sisters were either shot or burnt to death; but that the Indians had escaped to the settlement at Bethlehem, and that these poor refugees, together with a multitude of other people in similar circumstances, were kindly received at that place, they were so impressed with the relation, that they burst into tears, and immediately offered to make a

(d) Crantz's Hist. Green. vol. ii. p. 266.

* See Section III.

contribution for the relief of the unfortunate sufferers. "I," said one, "have a fine reindeer skin, which I will give."—"I," cried a second, "have a new pair of reindeer boots, which I will send them."—"And I," said a third, "will send them a seal, that they may have something to eat and to burn." The whole scene was extremely interesting, affording a fine display of the simplicity and benevolence of their hearts. Their contributions, indeed, when turned into money, were of little value; yet the missionaries did not chose to reject them, but ordered the amount of the whole to be transmitted by their Brethren in Europe to the sufferers in America. *(e)*

Meanwhile, numbers of the savages visited New Herrnhuth; and though, to appearance, most of them went away as they came, yet the missionaries did not, on that account, consider their labours among them as useless. They had learned by experience, that when the seed of divine truth did not immediately take root, it was not therefore lost; but that even after remaining buried for a number of years, it often sprung up, put forth blossoms, and ripened into fruit. Even the annual dispersion of the congregation, though attended with many disadvantages, was not without its use. The converts, indeed, did not, as in former years, force the subject of religion on the attention of the savages; but yet they neglected no opportunity of delivering their testimony to truth. Wherever a number of them pitched their tents, one of the Greenland helpers used, every morning and evening, to hold a meeting, to which the Heathen were freely admitted; and on these occasions, we are told, they spoke in a simple, yet edifying manner. Of the method in which he addressed his unbelieving countrymen, one of the helpers has given the following short account: "When I speak to the Heathen, it is in this manner: Formerly I was just as you are, an ignorant and wicked man; and to this hour I have in my inward parts nothing good of myself. But the Redeemer has

(e) Crantz's Hist. Green. vol. ii. p. 266.

sought and found me, and called me by his word, and set me free from the Heathen, and brought me to the congregation of the Faithful. And when I was yet a miserable man, he instructed me by his Spirit, and washed away my sins with his blood. He set me free from the slavery of my sins, from death, and from the power of Satan. But wherewith hath he redeemed me? With his own inestimable blood; and with his innocent sufferings and death. Hark ye, so exceedingly has the Saviour loved mankind, in order that they might become his property. If you will now surrender your hearts to him, he will himself prepare them, and make you happy." These simple discourses of the Greenland helpers added great weight to the testimony of the missionaries, whom the savages considered as quite a different kind of men from themselves; but when their own countrymen testified their experience of the same truths, this completely nonplussed them, and drove them from that refuge of lies. *(f)*

Among the converts, we have hitherto neglected to mention the name of Kainæk. He was one of the first Southlanders who became acquainted with the Brethren a few years after their arrival in the country, and even then he was not without some impressions from the truth. But as he was of a good family,* and was himself a man of note among his countrymen, and was looked up to by them as a kind of prince, he could not think of losing his high rank and reputation among them, by embracing the humbling doctrines of the gospel; for in Greenland to follow Christ was attended with ignominy and shame, as well as in other countries. He, therefore, went for sometime to the South, and another while to the North; but go where he would, he

(f) Crantz's Hist. Green. vol. ii. p. 235, 448.

*In Greenland a man is considered as of a good family when he can boast that his father, his grandfather, and his great-grandfather, were all renowned seal catchers.—*Crantz's Hist. Green.* vol. ii. p. 195.

could not fly from a guilty conscience and a restless heart. Still, however, he manifested a violent enmity to the gospel, which occasioned him so much uneasiness. Among other instances of this, he beat one of the converts so severely as to cripple him: He lay in wait for the life of several others; and he even threatened to set the Brethren's house on fire, because they had taken a woman under their protection who had fled to them to avoid being compelled to marry him;* and though he denied the charge, yet he never rested until he found an opportunity of carrying her off. But how mysterious, yet how wise, are the ways of Providence! His new wife was the means of again bringing him under the sound of the gospel. His convictions, though only as a latent spark, were now rekindled; nor was he ever afterwards, by all his efforts, able to extinguish them. He, at at length, applied for baptism, to which the Brethren gave their consent. Two of them accordingly went to Kangek, the place of his residence, to bring him to New Herrnhuth; but the weather, in the meanwhile, became so stormy, it was not expected they would soon be able to return. Before the other missionaries, however, were aware, they made their appearance with Kainæk and his whole family. The aspect of the travellers, indeed, was frightful: they were clad in ice as with a coat of mail. The strand was quickly crowded with people, for they were all happy at the arrival of these new candidates for the kingdom of heaven. Kainæk and his wife were both baptized a few days after; and as soon as it was possible to leave their winter houses, they moved to the missionary settlement, with most of their domestics, who were upwards of twenty in number, the greater part of whom afterwards embraced the gospel, and were reeeived into the church. As for Kainæk himself, he was now as quiet and tractable as he was formerly wild

* Among the savage Greenlanders, the women never marry until compulsion is employed with them: In such cases they are beaten by the old women to compel them to yield consent. *Crantz's Hist. Green.* vol. i. p. 158.

and ungovernable, and at length, about three years after his baptism, he died suddenly of a violent fever, while he was among the islands with his family, who lost in him an industrious and faithful guardian, and the congregation a useful and respectable member. *(g)*

Of late years, the Greenland congregation was augmented to about four hundred persons, and besides these there were nearly two hundred of the baptized who had departed into the world of spirits. Since the year 1742, when the awakening began among the savages, the increase may be considered as rapid, when we take into account the small population of the country; but now it appeared probable that there would be no material augmentation from among the Heathen. Few could be expected to come from the North and Ball's river; for since the establishment of colonies in that quarter, they were provided with Danish missionaries; and as to those in the neighbourhood, they, for the most part, heard the gospel at Good Hope. Hitherto, indeed, the Brethren had generally received annual visits from numbers of the Southlanders, who usually took up their residence, for a year or two, on some of the Kook a Kangek islands, in the course of their journies to and from the north. It was from among these, in fact, that the congregation was chiefly gathered; but many others had gone away on account of the difficulties they found in supporting themselves and their families, in a place so very different from that part of the country in which they had hitherto lived. This, indeed, was an obstacle, the extent of which can scarcely be conceived by a stranger; and it appears to have hindered numbers of the savages, when impressed by the truth, from settling at New Herrnhuth; nor, indeed, were the Brethren desirous that this place should become much more populous than it was; for though it would have rejoiced their hearts to win the whole of the Greenland nation to the Saviour, yet they judged it expedient to keep the size of the congre-

(g) Cranz's Hist. Green. vol. ii. p. 53, 130, 194, 255.

gation within moderate limits, with the view of maintaining a strict and particular oversight of every individual member. *(h)*

For these and similar reasons, the Brethren had, for sometime past, proposed to establish a new settlement in a part of the country more convenient for the Southlanders, many of whom had often invited them to come and reside among them. But besides other difficulties, there were not missionaries enough to carry such an undertaking into execution. Matthew Stach, one of the original founders of the mission, had lately returned to Europe, and he was now thinking of taking some rest in fellowship with the congregation at home, after the many toils he had endured abroad. Such, however, was his attachment to the Greenlanders, that he could never think, or speak, or hear of them, without earnestly wishing to return among them. When, therefore, it was proposed to him to undertake the establishment of a second settlement, he readily agreed to make the attempt, notwithstanding the new toils and dangers to which it would necessarily expose him.

In the spring 1758, Matthew Stach sailed from Europe, accompanied by two other of the Brethren, as his assistants. In the course of their voyage, they did not meet with a single storm, and what was still more extraordinary, they were treated with kindness and civility by the ship's company. In this respect, indeed, there had been a remarkable change, for some years past, especially after the trade to Greenland was consigned by his majesty to the royal Incorporated company of merchants, and the Brethren, instead, of having the liberty of transporting themselves and their provisions free of expence, were ordered to pay a moderate freight, a circumstance which proved both for their interest and their comfort. Formerly, the ship's company used to make it their study to vex and grieve them by their words and actions; they mocked at their religion, and even denied

(h) Crantz's Hist. Green. vol. ii. p. 273.

them such external accommodations as were really necessary. But on this occasion, Matthew Stach and his companions were treated not only with civility, but with kindness, by the captain, the mate, and the whole of the crew. After visiting New Herrnhuth, they proceeded to Fisher's inlet, taking along with them four of the Greenland families as the beginning of a new congregation. On their arrival at the Danish factory, the traders were desirous that they should have settled near them; and certainly a more agreeable situation for Europeans could scarcely be found in Greenland; but as the missionaries wished to consult the temporal and spiritual interests of the Greenlanders, not their own ease and comfort, they did not acquiesce in the proposal. They wished to find a place which possessed the following advantages: Fresh water that did not freeze up entirely in winter; a harbour which was not far from the sea, and yet was secure for boats; and a strand which remained open during the whole of the year. Such a situation could no where be found except at Akonamiok, a large island in that neighbourhood about three miles distant from the main ocean; and though in that place there was no prospect towards the sun, which in Greenland is peculiarly desirable, yet for the sake of the Greenlanders, the Brethren made choice of this spot as the scene of their future labours. Here, therefore, they pitched their tents, and called the name of the settlement Lichtenfels *(i)*

In building the houses necessary for their accommodation, the new settlers had to encounter no inconsiderable difficulties, owing to the want of suitable materials; but this inconvenience they overcame by their usual patience and perseverance. There was at the same time, such a scarcity of provisions, that it was with difficulty they maintained themselves. Nor was this merely a temporary calamity: It lasted, in a greater or less degree, for two or three years, and towards the end of that period was little short of famine.

(i) Crantz's Hist. Green. vol. ii. p. 275, 131, 278.

The Greenlanders at Lichtenfels, it is true, suffered less than the savages, many of whom died of hunger; but yet they had often to make a miserable shift with a few crowberries left on the ground during the winter, or some small meagre fishes. The missionaries themselves were often reduced to the greatest straits, and were able to afford but little assistance to the poor Heathen in their neighbourhood. *(k)*

Besides suffering all the evils of scarcity, the missionaries and their companions experienced not a few hardships from the storms which often prevailed both by sea and land. In March 1759, four of the Brethren, in a tremendous tempest, were entangled among the driving ice, and for some time were able to proceed neither backward nor forward. After long and severe rowing, they at length made towards the shore; but the sea was so high and boisterous, it was impossible to land without danger of being dashed to pieces among the rocks. They only wished that one of them might escape to tell the fate of the rest. Providentially, however, such an opening was at length made in the ice by the tide, that they were able to proceed forward, and to land in safety. On another occasion, two Greenlanders, despatched with letters to the colony at Frederick's Hope, were in the most imminent danger of their life. For two nights they were forced to sit in their kajaks upon the ice, which at first was continually breaking under them; but at length they got on a firm piece. It was the third night, however, before they came to a house, and had they not then met with one, it is probable they would have perished from thirst, as they had tasted no water for two days and two nights together. The sweat occasioned by their severe exertions oozed through their clothes, and by the extreme cold, was instantly congealed to ice. One of them had his hand frozen, and their kajaks were also materially damaged *(l)*

(k) Crantz's Hist. Green. vol. ii. p. 279, 309, 356.
(l) Ibid. vol. ii. p. 308.

In the month of November following, there was such a tremendous storm, that it made the Brethren's house to tremble as if there had been an earthquake, though it was very low, the walls a yard and a quarter thick, and situated under a hill. Part of the wall, indeed, was thrown down. In the surrounding country, numbers of the Greenland houses had their roofs rent; many boats were shattered and carried up into the air, and eight men were lost in the sea. The storm even split and tore open the ice; but the wind immediately after stopped up the holes with snow. On the following day, as one of the Brethren was passing over a pond, the frozen snow gave way under him, and he instantly sunk into the water. As, however, he had a belt around his body, the water under his fur-coat buoyed him up, till he reached the bottom with his long leaping staff; he then threw himself backwards on the firm ice, and in this manner escaped with his life. It is not unworthy of notice, that, both before and after the storm, balls of fire were seen in the air in several places, and one of them which fell near a house, began to burn. A similar phenomenon was observed about Christmas, near mid-day, while the sun was shining in full splendour. *(m)*

Meanwhile, the Brethren had scarcely settled at Lichtenfels, when numbers of the Greenlanders came to visit them, some instigated merely by curiosity, others by a desire to hear the gospel. Several of them appeared to be impressed with divine things; but for the present none of them could be induced to stay. Many were the excuses which they made for not settling at Lichtenfels, some of which are a striking illustration of our Lord's parable of the Great Supper, in which he represents the apologies which people often make for their neglect of the gospel. One who advised his brother to remain with the missionaries, being asked, Why he would not stay himself? replied: "I have bought a great deal of powder: I must go and spend it in

(m) Crantz's Hist. Green. vol. ii. p. 308.

the south, shooting reindeer, for there are many in that quarter." A second wished to eat his fill of bears' flesh: A third desired to buy a good boat, and then he would come and believe. An Angekok told one of the Greenlanders belonging to the settlement, that it was reported all over the south that the missionaries prayed all those to death who once took up with them, and went away again. Of this, he said, many instances were known, and therefore he should tell him the truth. The Greenlander replied, that he never heard them pray so: On the contrary, it was their daily prayer that the Greenlanders might live and be saved. The Angekok came to hear sermon a few days after, and it so happened that the discourse was on these words of our Lord: "I pray not that thou wouldst take them out of the world, but that thou wouldst keep them from the evil." *(n)*

In the beginning of 1760, the Brethren had the pleasure of baptizing a Greenland family who had lately settled with them. There was some resemblance between it and that of Kaiarnak, the first fruits of the mission at New Herrnhuth. It consisted of father, mother, son and daughter: they likewise came from the south: till now they were totally ignorant of the gospel, and yet they got the start of many who had long heard it. Many others were soon afterwards baptized at Lichtenfels; and the number of the inhabitants increased so rapidly, that the Brethren were anxious to obtain more assistants from Europe; and yet had any come to them at this time, they would not have known how to accommodate them. Their house was not only too small, but was in a very ruinous condition. Part of the wall had twice fallen down; and the hungry ravens had picked so many holes in the seal skins which covered the roof, that the rain dropped freely through it. With regard to their meetings, they were still more at a loss. In winter, indeed, they could hold them in the large Greenland house; but in summer,

(n) Crantz's Hist. Green. vol. ii. p. 280, 303, 364, 365.

when the people dwelt in tents, scarcely the sixth part of them could assemble in one of these, while, at the same time, the weather often would not permit them to meet without doors. A house, indeed, had been promised them from Europe, and, contrary to their expectations, it arrived in 1761. The season, however, was already far advanced, and the Brethren were much at a loss how they should be able, with so few hands, to erect such a large building, in so unfavourable a situation, before the commencement of winter; but these difficulties they overcame, in a considerable degree, with the assistance of the Greenlanders, and of some of the sailors from the ship. The missionaries having thus obtained an excellent dwelling-house, and a fine spacious church, the various meetings of the congregation, both of a public and a private nature, could now be held with much more comfort than before; and it was often delightful to witness, on these occasions, the tokens of the Lord's gracious presence with his people. *(o)*

In the meanwhile, the mission at New Herrnhuth continued to flourish no less than in former years. Numbers of the Greenlanders still came from the south, and thus were brought under the sound of the word. Some of them, however, were quite savage, and did not like to hear any thing about religion: Others seemed not altogether so insensible; but yet they were designedly on their guard, and warned their relations against hearing the gospel; because, as they said, they had already seen many examples of people, especially of young persons, who, after listening to it once or twice, were so captivated, and as it were bewitched by it, that they never could rest till they went and lived with the believers, to the great grief of their friends. Many, indeed, heard the gospel with some degree of attention; but when they were asked whether they would not live a winter at New Herrnhuth, or in the neighbourhood, they made

(o) Cranz's Hist. Green. vol. ii. p. 311, 314, 347, 348, 352.

various excuses, similar to those of their countrymen at Lichtenfels; as, for instance, that there were not so many reindeer in this part of the country as in the south; that they had not eaten of their flesh for a long time, and that they could not overcome their longing after it; but when they had eaten their fill of it, they would come and hear more of the gospel. With respect to the Heathen who lived in the neighbourhood, most of them had been so often awakened by the word, and again lulled asleep, that except the exciting a fresh uneasiness in their minds, little else was effected for the present. Numbers of the old people, who had long been convinced in their conscience, but who still loved darkness rather than light, manifested the most violent enmity against the truth. We are informed by Crantz, that he was shocked to see many of them so touched to the quick, that they trembled, snuffed, and blew like a frighted deer. Sometimes, like a man in strong convulsions, they were perfectly restless during the time of sermon, and as soon as it was over, they ran away in the utmost haste, lest the truth should make still further impression on their hearts. *(p)*

But though such was the general disposition of the savages, both of those who came from a distance, and of these who lived in the neighbourhood, yet twenty, thirty, or forty usually took up their abode with the Brethren every year. When any, indeed, formed this resolution, they might almost be considered as gained over the faith of Christ, the examples of any going away afterwards being now very rare. Before taking this step, they had frequently weighed the matter for years together; and the resolution to reside with the Brethren appeared to arise, if not in all, yet, in most instances, from the powerful operation of the Holy Spirit on their hearts. One who, about this period, came to New Herrnhuth, with his whole family, said, among other things, He was now as earnest to hear what was good, as the

(p) Crantz's Hist. Green. vol. ii. p. 283, 293, 383.

sea-birds are after fishes, which they swallow whole for eagerness. A man having come with two of his brothers, to take away his daughter, who had lately taken up her residence in the settlement, she earnestly besought him to allow her to stay, because she wished to be instructed and to believe in Christ Jesus. Perceiving that her entreaties were of no avail, but that he was determined to carry her away by force, she ran into the meeting-hall, and implored the protection of the missionaries. Her father, together with his brothers, being called to her, he endeavoured, by all the means in his power, to persuade her to go with him; he assured her, that she should stay with him only during the winter; he even promised, that, in the spring, he himself would come and hear the gospel. This was further confirmed by her two uncles, who promised her fine new clothes, and other similar presents. She was not, however, to be moved from her purpose. She wept, made them no answer; and as they were going to lay hold upon her, she shrieked and trembled in such a manner, as excited the pity and compassion of all who were present. The missionaries, after making it appear that her stay was perfectly voluntary, and that they nor any of the people laid the smallest restraint upon her, addressed her father to the following effect: "You see, that we do not draw away your relations, and that they may return whenever they please; but you must not require us to force them from us, when they are desirous to be our Saviour's. And now, what if ye also were to stay and follow her example? You would not repent of it." To this, her father, after some time, replied: "If my daughter stay, I will stay also." But her two uncles, though they were not without some serious impressions, answered: "We will first go to the north, to our eldest brother, and on our return, we will reside here too. Her father accordingly, sent them to Kangek, to fetch his little property to New Herrnhuth; and, in the meanwhile, she kept out of the way, till they were gone, lest they should seize her, and carry her off by surprise. One of these

people constantly attended the meetings at Christmas, and appeared to be in great perplexity, When he was asked, What he thought of the doctrine of Christ, he expressed himself well pleased with every thing, but yet he knew not what to do. Some persons having come from Kangek, he invited one of them to go and hear sermon ; but the other replied : "I am afraid it will make me sick," *i. e.* uneasy in his mind. Both of them, however, came and listened with attention. *(q)*

New Herrnhuth had now become a pleasant little village. The country originally consisted entirely of bald rocks, thinly interspersed with spots and veins of earth, or rather sand. But the missionary house and chapel, the area, the garden, &c. were laid out in neat and regular order; and all the adjacent land, where once not a blade of grass grew, was now enrobed with the richest and most beautiful verdure, so that the settlement might justly be considered as a garden of the Lord, in the midst of a horrible wilderness. The Brethren had even introduced sheep into Greenland, and the attempt succeeded beyond their most sanguine expectation. The grass was so nutritious, that these animals brought forth two, and even three lambs a year; and though there were so many lambs from the same ewe, yet Crantz affirms, they were larger in autumn, than sheep of a year old in Germany, and twenty pounds of suet, and seventy pounds of flesh, were often obtained from one ram. The meat, indeed, had little lean upon it, but the fat was so mild, that a person might eat it without prejudice. This little flock of sheep was of great use to them, especially as the number of reindeer was daily decreasing. *(r)*

From the commencement of the mission at New Herrnhuth till the year 1762, the Brethren baptized upwards of seven hundred of the Greenlanders. Of these two hundred and fifty had died ; a number had been spared to the new

(q) Crantz's Hist. Green. vol. ii. p. 284, 294, 332.
(r) Ibid. vol. i. p .74 ; vol. ii. p. 162, 399.

settlement at Lichtenfels; yet the congregation at this place still consisted of four hundred and twenty-one baptized brethren and sisters, of whom one hundred and seventy-four were communicants. Besides these, there were thirty-nine catechumens, and eleven new-comers, so that the whole number of inhabitants amounted to four-hundred and seventy-one. *(s)*

The settlement at Lichtenfels was, at the same time, flourishing beyond the most sanguine expectations of the Brethren. At the period now mentioned, the inhabitants of that place amounted to one hundred and sixty-eight, of whom no fewer than a hundred were members of the church. Of these, thirty-seven had been baptized at New Herrnhuth, and sixty-three at Lichtenfels, within little more than two years; thirty-eight others were catechumens, and thirty new-comers, besides whom, there were a few who had died. *(t)*

Providence had hitherto, in a very singular manner, preserved both the health and the life of the Brethren. It is a remarkable circumstance, that of all the missionaries who had settled in Greenland, not one had died in that country, nor laboured under any very acute disorder, notwithstanding the many toils and hardships, the many storms and dangers, the many other nameless ills they had experienced in the course of their unwearied exertions in that cold inhospitable region. Three of the first missionaries, indeed, were still labourers in the country, namely, Matthew Stach, John Beck, and Frederick Boehnish. It was not long, however, before death now began to make a breach among them. Frederick Boehnish having one day been drenched to the skin with rain, afterwards complained of a violent headache; and though he was advised by his Brethren, to take more care of his health, and not to expose himself in such weather, as it is the cause of most of the diseases which prevail in

(s) Crantz's Hist. Green. vol. ii. p. 432, 442.
(t) Ibid. vol. ii p. 443.

Greenland, yet, seeing the accumulated labours of his associates, he was ever ready to sacrifice his own ease and comfort, to afford them assistance. He soon after undertook a journey to the islands, to visit some Greenlanders who were sick, and to administer medicines to them, as well as spiritual advice, for he was their ordinary physician. His headache afterwards increased to such a degree, that when he preached or held any of the other meetings, he was obliged to have his head bound up; and, at length, it swelled and grew so extremely painful, that he was often scarcely master of his senses; but yet he continued to labour among the Greenlanders with great faithfulness and zeal till within three weeks of his death. At last, one day as he was taking the air in the field, he was seized, as he was descending from a rock, with a giddiness, and falling down, he wounded his head. He was now obliged to be confined to his bed; and though he could speak but little, it was evident he was cheerful and happy. One day when his fellow missionaries reminded him of the gentleness and tenderness of the Redeemer, he replied: "O yes: that is true; so he has ever approved himself to me!" He at length fell a sleep, July 29, 1763, in the fifty-fourth year of his age, and the twenty-ninth of his labours as a missionary in Greenland. *(u)*

In 1765, Matthew Stach, accompanied by three Greenland families, undertook a journey of about four hundred miles into the southern parts of this cold inhospitable country, with the view of visiting the Heathen in that quarter, many of whom had often heard the gospel in the course of their journies to and from the north, and had frequently invited the Brethren to come and teach them the will of God. He accordingly spent the winter among them, and spared no pains to plant the gospel in that part of the country; but, for the present, his labours were attended with

(u) Crantz's Hist. Green. vol. ii. p. 413, 473.

little or no success. Even those who were convinced of the truth, and came away with the view of joining the congregation, left him for the most part on the road. The Brethren, however, comforted themselves with the hope, that agreeably to their past experience, the seed which had been sown would ere long spring up and bring forth fruit; an expectation in which, as we shall afterwards see, they were not disappointed.

After Matthew Stach's return, the Heathen in the neighbourhood both of New Herrnhuth and Lichtenfels, began to afford him and his Brethren more hope than they had done for some years past, numbers of them showing a disposition to hear the gospel, and to embrace it with an unfeigned heart. A circumstance afterwards occurred, which is said to have had no small influence in promoting these serious impressions among them, though to us it appears of a very dubious nature. In 1768, an Angekok at Pissughik, who had often heard the gospel, but hitherto without effect, was so terrified by a vision, that from that hour he changed his manner of life, preached repentance to his votaries, and despatched messengers to New Herrnhuth, requesting the Brethren to send some one to instruct them further in the way to heaven. From that period, a new awakening began in that part of the country, and extended even further than the settlement of Lichtenfels. The Pagans often came on visits to the missionaries, and, at their own request, were visited in return, both by them and by the Greenland helpers. In the autumn, many of them moved to one or other of the settlements; and some of them were afterwards received into the church by baptism. *(v)*

In order to exhibit, at one view, the progress of the mission, we shall here subjoin the following Table of the number of inhabitants, baptized, communicants, &c. from the year 1738, when Kaiarnak and his family came to live with the Brethren, to 1769:

(v) Crantz's History of the United Brethren, p. 604.

Years.	Total inhabitants.	New baptized.	New communicants.	Marriages.	Deaths.
New Herrnhuth begun 1738.					
1738	20	..	..	..	..
1739	...	4	..	..	..
1740	...	1	..	..	..
1741	...	..	..	..	1
1742	30	5	..	..	..
1743	...	11	..	1	1
1744	...	16	..	1	3
1745	...	18	..	..	..
1746	...	27	..	3	..
1747	180	52	4	1	3
1748	230	35	15	3	8
1749	...	35	15	2	6
1750	300	52	36	2	6
1751	...	36	..	6	11
1752	...	52	36	7	40
1753	...	32	28	6	17
1754	...	48	4	4	57
1755	...	39	..	..	13
1756	...	36	17	9	21
1757	392	53	2	5	11
1758	...	33	32	6	12
1759	...	40	..	..	12
1760	...	25	..	..	12
1761	440	25	..	..	16
1762	471	44	18	3	19 *(w)*
1768	527	..	..	..	.. *(x)*
1769	540	..	..	..	.. *(y)*
Lichtenfels begun 1758.					
1758	...	1	..	..	1
1759	...	..	..	..	..
1760	...	16	..	..	..
1761	137	34	..	..	..
1762	168	17	..	..	7 *(w)*
1768	257	..	..	..	.. *(x)*
1769	290	..	..	..	.. *(y)*

(w) Crantz's Hist. Green. vol. i. ii.

(x) Crantz's Hist. Breth. p 606.

(y) A Succinct Account of the Missions of the United Brethren, 1771, p. 8.

In 1774, a third settlement was formed by the Brethren in the south of Greenland, in that quarter of the country which Matthew Stach had visited a few years before. It was called Lichtenau; and in a short time their labours were attended with so much success, that even in the first year of their residence in that neighbourhood, no fewer than ninety of the Greenlanders took up their abode with them. *(z)*

Previous to the formation of this new settlement, Matthew Stach, one of the first of the Brethren who came to Greenland, took a final farewell of that country, and returned to Europe. After laying the whole state of the mission before those members of the Unity, who were invested with the superintendance of such affairs, he asked permission to retire to North America, a request which was readily granted. He accordingly proceeded thither soon after, and fixed on the Brethren's settlement at Bethabara as the place of his future residence. Being averse, however, to spend his time in a state of inactivity, he offered his services to keep a school for boys. The prosperity of the kingdom of Christ, and the propagation of the gospel in the world, were the subject of his daily prayers; and nothing delighted him so much, as to hear accounts from the several missions among the Heathen. His mental faculties, which had been remarkably vigorous, began, however, to fail at length; and he was so injured by a fall about two years before his death, that from that time he was mostly confined to bed. His pains and confinement he bore with exemplary patience and resignation; and it is worthy of remark, that the loss of his memory was in some respects an advantage to him, for he could never be persuaded, but that this accident happened only the other day. About a week before his death, he grew so extremely weak, that he

(z) Periodical Accounts relative to the Missions of the United Brethren, vol. iii. p. 359.

required constant attendance night and day. During his illness, he used to give out several hymns, which were particular favourites with him, desiring those who were present to sing for him, and occasionally joining in them himself with great fervency. He spoke with cheerfulness and pleasure of that happy moment, when he should be released from all his sorrows, and see his Saviour face to face. "Lord Jesus, come quickly," were the last words he was heard to utter; after which, he breathed his last, December 21, 1787, in the seventy-seventh year of his age. *(a)*

Many of the Greenlanders had now learned to read, and some of them also to write. As they had no letters of their own, the missionaries introduced the Roman characters among them, as the most plain and easy. The children were in general very eager to learn, and made more rapid progress than might naturally have been expected. *(b)*

Besides the regular meetings for public worship, on the Sabbath and on festivals, the Brethren, with the view of keeping up a constant sense of religion on the minds of their people, held frequent meetings with them through the week. Every day, at six in the morning, there was a short meeting, called the morning blessing or prayer, at which all the baptized, young and old, attended. At eight o'clock, there was a meeting for all the congregation, in which a text of scripture was explained, though so briefly, that the discourse and the singing seldom lasted above half an hour. There was then a meeting for the children, in which they were catechised; and after this they proceeded to school, the boys to the catechist, the girls to a missionary, or deacon who was married. In the evening, when the men had returned from their occupations abroad, a meeting was again held with all the congregation, in which one of the missionaries either discoursed on a passage of scripture, or merely sung

(a) Periodical Accounts relative to the Missions of the United Brethren, vol. i. p. 65.

(b) Crantz's Hist. Green. vol. ii. p. 437.

some hymns, on which account it was called the singing hour. After this meeting, the communicants remained in the hall, and had a short exhortation; and when supper was over, the day was concluded with prayer, which was called the evening blessing. *(c)*

It may also be remarked, that the Greenlanders, particularly the women and children, might often be heard singing hymns, both in their own houses, and when engaged in their avocations abroad. At first, such as had good voices were instructed separately in this pleasing art; but now there was no occasion for this, as most of them could sing well, and had committed to memory the most common hymns, or could learn them from books. As strangers are generally struck with the regular melodious music of the Brethren's congregations in Europe, so Crantz informs us, that he was so pleased with the singing of the Greenlanders, that he almost thought they excelled some of their congregations in the civilized parts of the world. The men, it is true, had commonly coarse harsh voices, and therefore exerted themselves less; but the women, on the other hand, had clear soft voices, and sung so regularly, and so harmoniously, that, at a distance, the whole seemed as if it were but one voice. Their chief fault was, that they were apt to allow their voices to sink, especially in long metre; but this defect was remedied by the help of instruments.—Their band of music consisted of two or three violins, a couple of flutes, and a few guitars. Some of the Greenlanders had learned to play such church tunes as they knew on these instruments in two parts; and they might have become still greater proficients in music, had it been judged necessary, for they themselves had a taste for it. Several of them had also learned to blow the trumpet and the French horn, which were employed as a signal, instead of a bell, for calling the congregation to their several meetings. *(d)*

(c) Crantz's Hist. Green. vol. ii. p. 418.
(d) Ibid. vol. ii. p. 423.

Though the Brethren, in the admission of the Greenlanders to baptism, paid greater regard to the state of their hearts, than to their intellectual attainments, yet most of the converts were by no means defective in the doctrinal knowledge of the gospel. There was, indeed, a material difference between those who were baptized in their infancy, and trained up under the eye of the missionaries, and such as were not connected with them until they were advanced in life. The young people enjoyed not only the advantage of the daily catechetical exercises, which the adults had not leisure to attend, but most of them learned to read, and consequently were able to comprehend more fully, and to retain more perfectly, what they were taught. Many of the old people, however, by their diligence, and by the influence of the Holy Spirit upon their hearts, made surprising progress in Christian knowledge. It was often observed, that such as possessed more grace than knowledge at the time of their baptism, soon outstripped, even in understanding, others who, in this respect, were superior to them; while, on the other hand, those who, after baptism, made little progress in grace, remained at the same time defective in knowledge. We shall here select a few instances of their views of divine truth, and of their manner of expressing themselves; though it must be acknowledged, that the specimen is, on the whole, of a favourable nature. Agnes was one of the helpers among her own sex; but about three years before her death, she lost the use of her limbs, which disabled her from attending the ordinary meetings, though, at the celebration of the Lord's Supper, she was carried as often as possible to the church, or conducted thither on a sledge, because she wished rather to partake of it with the whole congregation, than at home by herself. Under all her sufferings, she displayed the utmost resignation to the divine will; and it was delightful to visit her, especially when she partook of the Lord's Supper in private. In a letter written by her a few years before her death, we meet with the following pious

reflections: "I am enabled to rejoice daily, since I know that I have a Saviour; and that I have nothing else to crave while I am upon earth. Oh! had I not him nor felt him, I should be like a dead creature. Whenever I eat the body, and drink the blood of Jesus, I feel new life in me. I was exceeding glad that our teachers visited us, and shall not forget them; but I shall set my Saviour most of all before me. We are well assured, that if we had not him, we could not be happy. I know that I have a heart desirous after Jesus' blood; and that I have no other Saviour but him who shed his blood. Him I love, because he redeemed me, and chose me out of the Heathen: And because he loved me, I will love him in return with all my heart." One of the helpers, in addressing his countrymen, made use of the following striking simile: "It is with us, as when a thick mist covers the land, which hinders us from seeing and knowing any thing certain. But when the mist disperses, we get sight of one corner of the land after another; and when the sun breaks forth, we see every thing clearly and distinctly. Thus it is with us. While we remain at a distance from our Saviour, we are dark and ignorant of ourselves; but the nearer approaches we make to him, the more light we obtain in our hearts; and thus we learn to discover all good in him, and all evil in ourselves." We suppose it was the same helper who, on another occasion, made use of the following comparison; "When, in summer, we carry a light," (referring to a kind of light used in Greenland, consisting of moss soaked with train oil,) "when, in summer, we carry a light in a high wind from one tent to another, flashes often fall to the ground, and set the dry grass on fire. Thus, when our Saviour came upon earth, he brought fire along with him, and scattered it round amongst men: And now he sends his servants forth into all the world. These he has likewise sent unto us, with his word which he has given them for us. This they have scattered among us, and it has kindled life in our hearts; or else we should still be dead, like the rest who continue to walk in darkness." The only other example we shall give, is the reply which Chris-

tina, one of the female converts, made to a widow from the north, who said to her: "It is, indeed, a very happy thing for thee, that thou goest to all the meetings of the faithful; and I see plainly, that thy heart at all times reaps some good from it. The reason of this no doubt is, that thou art not so bad as I."—"No," answered Christina, "that is not the reason: Our Saviour has not chosen me because I am good; but because I am a poor wretched corrupted sinner. He receives none but poor sinners, who cannot be satisfied without him; just such he selects out of all. Thou art not too bad for him; but perhaps esteemest thyself better than thou art: Therefore, it is thou canst not yet truly rejoice in the Saviour." *(e)* *

(e) Crantz's Hist. Green. v. ii. p. 427, 431, 800, 267, 385, 334.

* The following instance of reasoning in a Greenlander certainly displays greater powers of thinking than the conclusions of many a modern infidel philosopher. We almost suspect, indeed, it is somewhat indebted to the narrator. One of the missionaries (it is said whether he belonged to the Danish or the Moravian mission) being in company with some of the baptized, expressed his surprise, that they should formerly have led so senseless and thoughtless a life, to which one of them made the following striking reply: "It is true, we were ignorant Heathens, and knew nothing of God or a Saviour; and, indeed, who should tell us of him till you came? But thou must not imagine, that no Greenlander thinks about these things. I myself have often thought, a kajak, with all its tackle and implements, does not grow into existence of itself, but must be made by the labour and ingenuity of man; and one that does not understand it would directly spoil it. Now, the meanest bird has far more skill displayed in its structure than the best kajaks, and no man can make a bird. But there is still greater art shewn in the formation of a man, than of any other creature. Who was it that made him? I bethought me, he proceeded from his parents, and they from their parents. But some must have been the first parents. Whence did they come? Common report tells me, they grew out of the earth. But if so, why does it not still happen, that men grow out of the earth?

In Greenland, as well as in other places, the Brethren do not allow the unmarried people of different sexes to mix together in public, and still less in private, except so far as is absolutely necessary; nor do they permit them to carry on courtships for years together, as often happens in other communities. As soon, however, as a Greenlander attains the age of twenty, and is judged capable of maintaining a family, it is thought fit he should enter into the married state. His parents, or if they are not in life the missionaries, take the charge of this; for though every individual is at perfect liberty to make the proposal himself, yet none almost ever do it, as they all know that the Brethren constantly study their welfare. When a proposition of this kind is made to a young man, he is first asked, Whether or not he has fixed his choice already; and if he has, it is readily agreed to, unless there is ground to apprehend it may prove injurious to his temporal or spiritual interests. But if as yet he has fixed his affections on no particular person, one of the young women is mentioned to him; and as the missionaries reserve to themselves the power of refusing the marriage ceremony, if the choice he has made appears to them improper, so he is at full liberty to reject the partner which they may propose to him, if she is not perfectly agreeable to

And from whence did this same earth, the sea, the sun, the moon, and the stars arise into existence? Certainly, there must be some Being who made all these things—a Being that always was, and can never cease to be. He must be inexpressibly more mighty, knowing, and wise, than the wisest man. He must be good too, because every thing that he has made is good, useful, and necessary for us. Ah! did I but know him, how would I love him and honour him! But who has seen him? Who has ever conversed with him? None of us poor men. Yet there may be men, too, that know something of him. Oh! could I but speak with such! Therefore, said he, as soon as ever I heard you speak of this Great Being, I believed it directly with all my heart, because I had so long desired to hear it."—*Crantz's Hist. Green.* vol. i. p. 198.

him. Should he, however, after due consideration, acquiesce in the proposal, it is next communicated to his intended bride. But here arise the principal difficulties; for though the Christian females no longer imitate the unseemly behaviour of the Heathen, as pulling out their hair or running away in a fury, yet they often return a flat denial to the proposals made to them, and after that, persuasion is in vain. If, however, she accepts the offer, the parties, after a short exhortation, are betrothed to each other in presence of their relations: their intention is announced to the whole congregation, and they are recommended to their prayers. After sometime they are united in marriage by one of the missionaries, in the name of the Holy Trinity; and both of them, at a love feast, take leave of the choir to which they belonged, and receive its best wishes for their happiness in the married state. *(f)*

When any of the Christian Greenlanders appear to be dying, one of the missionaries imparts the blessing of the congregation to them, with imposition of hands; and as soon as the spirit has departed, the relations dress the corpse, and sew it up in a skin, instead of depositing it in a coffin. Being placed on a bier, it is covered with a white cloth, on which is inscribed a Greenland verse, usually in reference to the resurrection, the letters of which are formed of red ribands. After a funeral discourse in the church, four of the Greenlanders carry it to the grave, one of the missionaries going before, and the other Greenlanders following behind, two and two in a row. It is then committed to the cold and silent dust in the joyful hope of a happy resurrection. *(g)*

Of late years, the state of the Greenland congregation has been materially changed. Lichtenau, the most southern of the three settlements, may still be considered as a mission among the Heathen; for in the neighbourhood of that place the inhabitants are still Pagans. But at New Herrnhuth and

(f) Crantz's Hist. Green. vol. ii. p. 438.
(g) Ibid. vol. ii. p. 441.

Lichtenfels, and to a great distance around these places, they consist chiefly of persons who were baptized in their infancy, and have been educated from their earliest years in Christian principles; and though they, no doubt, have their infirmities and failings, yet of most of them it may be said with truth, that they walk worthy of the gospel. Such of the Greenlanders in the neighbourhood of New Herrnhuth as do not belong to the church of the Brethren, have all been baptized by the Danish missionaries, so that there are now no traces of Paganism in that quarter of the country. *(h)*

In 1804, one of the missionaries named Rudolph, in returning to Europe after labouring for twenty-six years in Greenland, experienced a very remarkable deliverance at sea. Having embarked on board a vessel bound for Copenhagen, he was detained a number of weeks in the harbour; but the captain, at length, resolved to set sail, as he understood there was no ice about Nimarsuit. Three days after, however, a storm arose from the south west, and drove the mountains of ice close upon the ship. The scene was awfully tremendous and sublime. The vessel with her sails close reefed, drove among the ice before the wind, and it seemed as if she would every moment be crushed to pieces. She, at length, struck upon a small rock, but she got off without any material injury. It was not long, however, before she again struck with great violence against a large field of ice: Several planks started at once; the water rushed into her; and, in a very short time, only the larboard gunwale appeared above the surface. The captain and the sailors immediately took to their boats, and carried off one party after another to a neighbouring field of ice. The missionary and his wife were the last who were taken off: by this time they were above the knees in the water, holding fast by the shrouds. Being only about a league from land, they now made towards the shore; but the large boat was so

(h) Period. Acc. vol. iv. p. 220. MSS. Accounts in the Author's possession.

heavily laden, it had already taken in so much water, and the wind was so high, that they were afraid it would sink, and therefore they were obliged to sail to the nearest island they could reach. It proved to be a rough, pointed, naked rock. Here they endeavoured to land the provisions which they had saved from the wreck; but in making the attempt, the boats, with eight of the crew on board, were carried away by the storm, driven to the opposite shore, and appeared to be dashed to pieces among the rocks. The others being thus left destitute of provisions, saw nothing before them but the dismal prospect of perishing with hunger on this miserable uninhabited island. It was a heavy rain the whole day, and in the evening they lay down to sleep close to each other, without either tent or covering. Here they were completely wet, lying as it were in a pool of water; for, besides the incessant rain, the water flowed in streams from the summit, of the rock upon their resting place. *(i)*

After two days, the captain and most of the crew endeavoured to gain the shore, by walking across the ice. The attempt was exceedingly dangerous, as they had to leap from one piece of ice to another, and might easily have fallen into the sea between them. The missionary and his wife would willingly have joined them; but as they had now been without a morsel of food for two days, they did not think they had strength remaining to undergo the fatigue. The crew, however, promised that should they reach the shore in safety, they would send off a boat to rescue them. Besides them, there remained on the island the ship's cook; and on an adjoining rock, there were two others of the crew who came over the ice several times to see them. *(k)*

In this dismal situation, they remained till the ninth day. When the sun shone, they employed themselves in drying the few articles they had saved from the wreck; but they were at last so enfebled with cold and hunger, that they scarcely had strength to perform even this small service;

(i) Period. Acc. vol. iv. p. 341, 348. *(k)* Ibid. vol. iv. p. 348.

for during all this time they had no support, but the fresh water collected in the chinks and holes of the rocks, of which they every now and then drank a little. All day long, they looked with eager eyes towards the land, in the hope of discovering some Greenlander coming to their relief; but as they looked from day to day in vain, they began to fear that the crew had perished, in attempting to reach the shore. There now, therefore, seemed no prospect before them, but that of ending their lives on this barren rock; of lying unburied under the canopy of heaven; and of becoming food for the ravens, and the other birds of prey, which were continually hovering around them. *(l)*

At length, however, on the evening of the ninth day, Rudolph's wife, as they were lying down to rest, happened to raise herself up, and espied two Greenlanders, in their kajaks, making towards the island, and hailing them. Their enfeebled limbs having now collected new strength, they immediately climbed to the summit of the rock, and called to their delivers, to let them know where they were. On landing, the Greenlanders told them, that they had been in search of them the whole day, and at last concluded that they must be dead. On reaching the shore, they found that the whole crew, with the exception of one man, had escaped in safety, after suffering dreadful hardships in the attempt. On their way to Lichtenau, which was about twenty-eight miles distant, they met a boat, in which was one of the Danish missionaries, who was astonished to see them alive, as he concluded they must have perished, and had come so far, with the view of carrying their corpses to that place, for interment. After spending the following winter, with their Brethren, at that settlement, they again set off for Europe, the ensuing year; and after encountering many hardships and dangers in sailing along the icy shores of Greenland, they arrived in safety at Copenhagen. *(m)*

(l) Period. Acc. vol. iv. p. 349.
(m) Ibid. vol. iv. 349, 351, 353, 360.

With regard to the number of Greenlanders who have been baptized by the Brethren, since the commencement of the mission, we possess no very particular accounts. We are informed, however, in 1806, they amounted, at Lichtenfels, to about eleven hundred; that, at Lichtenau, there was probably about the same number; and that, at New Herrnhuth, it was considerably larger, It is probable, therefore, that the whole number, is not under four thousand. At Lichtenfels, only two of the converts had, at that period, relapsed into Paganism, since the commencement of the mission. At New Herrnhuth, the number was stated to be nearly the same; and, at Lichtenau, it was supposed to be only a few more. *(n)* This certainly is a very remarkable circumstance, and is a striking proof of the strictness of the Brethren, in the admission of persons to baptism, as well as of the care which they afterwards exercise over them.

In 1810, the number of persons belonging to the Brethren's congregations, in Greenland, amounted to nine hundred and ninety-eight, as appears from the following Table:

New Herrnhuth	300
Lichtenfels	298
Lichtenau	400
Total . . .	998 *(o)*

To some, these numbers may appear inconsiderable; but let it be remembered, that they form no small proportion of the Greenland nation. About fifty years ago, the population of that country was estimated by Crantz at ten thousand; and one of the Danish factors, who had resided it in many years, would not allow that the inhabitants amounted to more than seven thousand. According to him, indeed, they had diminished, within thirty years, more than three-fourths,

(n) MSS. Accounts in the Author's possession.
(o) Period. Acc. vol. v. p. 89.

namely from 30,000 to 7,000. *(p)* If this, therefore, was a fact, and especially if the depopulation has still been going on, even though in a much less proportion, then the above numbers must be regarded as a very considerable, and even as a great part of the Greenland nation.

It appears, indeed, that within the last forty years, the congregation at New Herrnhuth, the first settlement of the Brethren, has diminished by nearly one half; that at Lichtenfels, the increase has been inconsiderable; that, of late years, the number in these two places has been nearly stationary; and that the chief increase has been in the settlement at Lichtenau, which, though last established, is now the most populous of the whole. *(q)* This decrease of the congregation, particularly at New Herrnhuth, may, perhaps, be traced to various causes. It is satisfactory to learn, that it does not arise from the children of the converts, forsaking the congregation of the faithful, for we are informed, that almost all of them have embraced the Christian faith, and have grown up in the fear of the Lord. In general, however, the number of births, among the Greenlanders, is not equal to the number of deaths; such, at least, has been the case at Lichtenfels for many years past. Epidemic diseases often prevail in the country, and commit terrible ravages among the Christian converts, as well as among their Pagan countrymen. The greatest mortality which was ever occasioned among them by such a disorder, was about thirty years ago.* About two hundred and sixty died at New Herrnhuth, eighty-seven at Lichtenfels, and nearly two hundred at Lichtenau. *(r)* From this dreadful stroke, the settlement at New Herrnhuth appears never, as yet, to have recovered. Besides, the diminution of the congregation in that place must be ascribed, in a considerable degree, to the establishment of the two other settlements, where many of the Green-

(p) Crantz's Hist. Green. vol. i. p. 10.

(q) Period. Acc. *passim*.

* In 1782.

(r) MSS. Accounts in the Author's possession.

landers have taken up their residence, who otherwise would have joined the congregation at New Herrnhuth. It is enough, therefore, that the numbers have increased on the whole, though they may have diminished in a particular place.

It is not unworthy of notice, that the Brethren still continue the breeding of sheep in Greenland; and they have also introduced goats into the country, from which they obtain more milk than from the former. At Lichtenau, where there is more grass than either at New Herrnhuth or Lichtenfels, they have, in summer, upwards of eighty sheep and goats. At the other two settlements, they have not much above twenty in each. They have now also carried the cultivation of their gardens so far, that they have generally vegetables all the year over, as turnips, green cabbage, white cabbage, sallads, spinnage, black raddishes, &c. *(s)*

Besides the harmony of the gospels, which the Brethren translated a few years after their arrival in Greenland, and which has since been printed, they have translated the Acts of the Apostles, the Epistles of Paul, and such portions of the Old Testament as they judged most necessary for the Christian converts; but these are still in manuscript, which is the more to be regretted, as most of the baptized are now able to read. They have likewise printed a hymn book, a spelling book, and a catechism or summary of Christian doctrine for the use of their congregations; they have translated a short compendium of the bible for the children; and they have compiled, with great pains, a grammar and dictionary of this barbarous language. *(t)**

(s) MSS. Accounts in the Author's possession.

(t) Ibid. Period. Acc. vol. v. p. 23, 379.

* In May 1813, several of the Brethren and their families sailed from Leith for Greenland in a Danish vessel, which had obtained a license from the British government; and, after a speedy voyage of five weeks, they arrived in Disco bay. The captain had promised to land them, if possible

SECTION II.

West-India Islands.

Article I. St. Thomas.

IN August 1732, Leonard Dober and David Nitschman left Herrnhuth, in Upper Lusatia, with the view of proceeding on a mission to St. Thomas, one of the Danish West-India islands. Dober was one of the two Brethren who had so generously offered to sell themselves as slaves, should they find no other way of obtaining an opportunity of instructing the negroes. Nitschman was merely to accompany him in the voyage, and then to return to the congregation. On their arrival at St. Thomas, a planter, to whom they had a letter from his sister in Copenhagen, received them into his house; and soon after Leonard Dober was engaged by the governor as steward of his household.—Finding, however, that in this capacity he had neither time nor opportunity to instruct the negroes, he hired a house of his own, and lived in very great poverty, as he could not here follow his trade as a potter. Having found out

near one of their own settlements; but, with more than savage cruelty, he carried them thus far out of their way. He could easily have landed them at Lichtenfels or New Herrnhuth; for, contrary to what is generally experienced, there was no ice to obstruct the passage and the wind was fair. When the ship had passed Lichtenfels, he spoke of landing them at Zukkertop, at Good Hope, &c. but he kept going on night and day; and when the mate and sailors remonstrated with him on the cruelty of taking them so much out of their way, he replied: "Never mind, they have the summer before them." In consequence of this unfeeling conduct, they had to sail back in a boat 600 English miles to New Herrnhuth; 90 more to Lichtenfels; and one of the Brethren no less than 1100 to Lichtenau. *Period. Acc.* vol. v. p. 375.

the negro Anthony's sister, whose desire to hear the gospel was the occasion of the mission, and also his brother, he made known to them the glad tidings of salvation through Jesus Christ. To these they listened with attention and delight; and, after some time, both of them were received into the bosom of the church. *(a)*

In 1734, Leonard Dober was recalled from St. Thomas, having been chosen elder of the congregation at Herrnhuth; but he was succeeded soon after by Frederick Martin and others of the Brethren. On the arrival of the new missionaries, great numbers of the negroes came to them in the evenings, after their work was over, and received instruction with thankful hearts, a circumstance which so encouraged and animated them in their labours, that they spent the night as well as the day in teaching them and their children the things which belonged to their everlasting peace. Much opposition, indeed, was made to their labours, and many impediments were thrown in their way; but still they persevered in the work with undiminished faithfulness and zeal. *(b)*

In 1738, count Zinzendorf sailed for the island of St. Thomas, together with some Brethren and Sisters who had offered themselves as assistants in the mission. On his arrival, he was astonished to find all the missionaries in prison. A clergyman on the island, it seems, had taken upon him to examine some of the converted negroes, and even proceeded to rebaptize one of them. But as they were averse to answer some improper and captious questions which he put to them, he instigated the common council to present a petition to the governor, begging him to prohibit the missionaries from administering baptism, as not being regularly ordained, and to compel one of the Brethren, who was married by Frederick Martin, to be married again. But as the governor returned no answer to the petition, they next charged the missionaries with robbery, from which they were required to clear themselves by an oath; and as they, agreeably to

(a) Crantz's History of the United Brethren. *(b)* Ibid.

the principles of their church on that head, refused to do this, they were all thrown into prison. Here they had lain for fifteen weeks in the most wretched condition; but as soon as the count arrived, he sent to the governor, and begged they might be set at liberty. In consequence of this, they were released the very next day, and that gentleman even made an apology to him for what had happened. *(c)*

The number of negroes who at this time received instruction from the missionaries, amounted to about eight hundred. After the labours of the day were over, they used to attend, with great diligence on the meetings which were held for them; and the count during his stay on the island, procured a place for them, where they might assemble and hear the gospel in peace and safety; but before his departure, he was grieved to learn that some drunken people had fallen upon them, and cut and slashed them in the cruelest manner. Indeed, after he left the island, their enemies became so violent and outrageous, that the poor people were obliged to hold their meetings in the woods. In the meanwhile, however, in consequence of the count's representation to his majesty the king of Denmark, and the petition of the negroes themselves, orders were sent to the governor to permit the missionaries to pursue their labours without molestation, and to protect them against the malice of their enemies. But notwithstanding this mandate they were still subjected to much opposition, and to trials of various kinds. By day, they spent their time in hard labour for their own support; by night, they instructed the poor slaves in the principles of the Christian faith. They, at the same time, suffered much from sickness; and scarcely a year passed without one or more of them finishing their course. To this, it is probable, the distress of their minds on account of the sufferings of the converts, and the frequent maltreatment of their own persons, contributed not a little. One of them, for instance, was so severely beaten on a

(c) Crantz's History of the United Brethren.

particular occasion, that he immediately fell sick; and though he recovered at that time, yet he died soon after. As the missionaries, however, were eager to pursue their evangelical labours, notwithstanding the many trials which they suffered, so the negroes, after performing the work of the day, could not be restrained from coming to them by night, to receive instruction, though they were subjected to bonds and stripes on that account. Such, indeed, was the success of their labours among these poor untutored creatures, that they had once the pleasure of baptizing no fewer than ninety of them in one day. *(d)*

In 1747, Frederick Martin made a short visit to Europe, and on presenting a memorial to his majesty the king of Denmark, a new order was given to the West-India Company that they should allow the Brethren to carry on their labours among the negroes without molestation, and under the protection of government. Of late years, the awakening among the slaves had greatly abated; few of them were admitted to baptism; and even some of those who had been baptized fell away. In consequence of these circumstances, the Brethren were in some measure discouraged, and grew remiss in carrying on the work of the mission. But after the return of Frederick Martin, a new awakening began among the negroes. A general concern about their souls was excited among the baptized; this quickly spread among the catechumens, and even among the slaves throughout the island. Every evening, the meetings were attended by between two and three hundred negroes, and on the Sabbath, by between eight and nine hundred, besides whom there was a great number of children of whom the missionaries took some charge. On one occasion, no fewer than three hundred and eighty came and desired their names to be inserted in the list of catechumens; and from this time the number of the converts rapidly increased. The governor of St. Thomas, and most of the planters on the island, were now

(d) Crantz's History of the United Brethren.

convinced, by experience, that the instruction of the negroes in the principles of religion, instead of injuring, promoted the interests of their masters; and, therefore, they were pleased to see their slaves attend on the preaching of the gospel.

In the course of a few years, the mission on this island was in a very flourishing condition. The congregations of the Brethren were greatly augmented; and the baptized were generally increased by upwards of a hundred a year. In their settlement called New Herrnhuth, the missionaries had a church, a dwelling-house, a garden, various out-houses, and negro huts. In the town of Tapus, they had also a meeting-house for the benefit of the sick and aged; and a married couple resided at a place now called Niesky in order to instruct the negroes in that quarter of the island. Besides labouring among the slaves, the Brethren spent all the time they could spare in working with their hands for their own support; and, in fact, they were of great service on the island, particularly in building mills. *(e)*

But though the Brethren were no longer exposed to persecution from the white people, they had still many difficulties to encounter, and of these, none of the least arose from the insalubrity of the climate. For the most part, they enjoyed but a poor state of health; and many of them scarcely arrived on the island, when they were attacked by diseases, which in a short time put a period to their labours and their life. From the commencement of the mission to the year 1766, no fewer than sixty-six Brethren and Sisters died in this and the two other Danish islands, St. Croix and St. Jan. *(f)* But though the mortality was so great, it is surprising with what cheerfulness others came forward to fill the ranks of those who had so prematurely fallen. Bishop Spangenberg informs us, that, on one occasion, when it was made known to the congregation at Bethlehem in North America, that five persons had died, within a short time on the island of

(e) Crantz's History of the United Brethren. *(f)* Ibid.

St. Thomas, no fewer than eight Brethren voluntarily offered, that very day, to go thither and replace them! *(g)*

The missionaries had, at first, considerable difficulties with regard to the marriages of those who embraced Christianity. It often happened in this and other of the West-India islands, that a man at the time of his conversion had more than one wife. Now, in such cases, What was to be done? In one place the Apostle Paul says: "If any brother hath a wife that believeth not, and she be pleased to dwell with him, let him not put her away." In another place he says, "A bishop must be blameless, the husband of one wife." As nothing further is said in the New Testament on this subject, the Brethren laid down the following principles for the regulation of their conduct in cases of this description:

First, That they would not oblige a man who, previous to his conversion, had taken more than one wife, to put the others away without their consent.

Secondly, That, notwithstanding this, they would not appoint such a man a helper in the congregation.

Lastly, That they would allow no one who had already embraced Christianity to take more than one wife; and that he was to be considered as bound to her as long as she lived.

But notwithstanding these regulations, the Brethren had often great difficulties with regard to the marriages of slaves, even after their baptism. When a planter in the West-Indies, for instance, died in debt, his slaves and other property were sold by auction; and in these cases, part of the negroes were frequently purchased by proprietors from other islands, by which means it often happened, that not only parents and children, but husbands and wives, were forever parted from each other. *(h)* How to act in such

(g) Spangenberg's Account of the manner in which the United Brethren carry on their missions among the Heathen, p. 37.

(h) Ibid. p. 99.

circumstances, the Brethren were at first quite at a loss; and they appear for some time to have prohibited the converts from contracting another marriage, apprehending this to be inconsistent with the principles of Christianity. *(i)* Now, however, though they do not advise, yet neither do they hinder a regular marriage with another person, especially if a family of children, or other circumstances, seem to render a helpmate necessary. *(k)*

The Brethren have long had two settlements in St. Thomas, called New Herrnhuth and Niesky; and it was stated a few years ago, that though the opposition to them was at first so violent, yet now there is not one manager on the whole island who prohibited his Negroes from attending on their instructions, and not one plantation where there were not one or more Christian Negroes. *(l)* In the year 1812, the two congregations consisted of the following members:

	Baptized, &c.	*Communicants.*
New Herrnhuth, ...	1009	430
Niesky, ...	1276	758
Total . . .	2285	1188 *(m)*

Article II. St. Croix,

The West-India and Guinea Company at Copenhagen having made a purchase of the island of St. Croix, which had been abandoned by the French for the space of forty years, and during that period had again become a perfect wilderness, the lord chamberlaine, De Pless, who had already patronized the missions to Greenland and St. Thomas, thought that the lands he had taken in that island, would be best cultivated, and the Negroes at the same time instructed

(i) Crantz's Hist. Breth. *(k)* Period. Acc. vol. i. p. 14.
(l) Ibid. vol. i. p. 264. *(m)* Ibid. vol. v. p. 368.

in the Christian faith, if he committed them to the care of some of the Brethren. Having, with this view, applied for two of the Brethren as overseers, for each of the six plantations which he proposed to cultivate, many of the congregation were desirous of engaging in the undertaking, in the hope of being useful to the poor Negroes; and of these fourteen were selected for this purpose, four of whom were married. In 1733, they sailed on this important mission, but they were obliged to winter in Norway; and it was not till the following summer that they reached St. Croix. On their arrival, they found the island quite overgrown with trees and brushwood, which gave rise to the most unwholesome vapours; and as they spared no labour in carrying on the necessary works, they all fell sick, and in a short time ten of them died. Others, indeed, were sent to supply their places; but for the present, their labours among the few Negroes, who had been introduced into the island, were attended with little or no effect; and after some time, only nine of the colonists remained, some of whom returned home, and some repaired to the island of St. Thomas. *(n)*

But though the mission to St. Croix was relinquished for the present, it was not long before it was again renewed. Some of the Negroes who had been converted in St. Thomas having been sold and transplanted to this and other islands, spread the good news of salvation among their fellow slaves; and in consequence of this, they were visited by the missionaries from St. Thomas. At length, in 1739, Albinus J. Feder and Christian G. Israel were sent from Europe to settle in St. Croix. The latter was born of poor parents, and was so lame, that he mostly walked with a crutch; but, at the same time, so full of zeal, that he could not be restrained from going as a missionary to the Heathen. When near the end of the voyage, the ship was stranded in a storm on the island of St. Thomas. The sailors took to the boat, leaving the missionaries with the vessel on the rock. Feder ventured

(n) Crantz's History of the United Brethren.

to drop down by a rope into the sea, in order to swim to the shore, which was scarcely the distance of a stone-cast, thinking to procure assistance for his lame brother. But such was the violence of the storm, that he was overwhelmed by the waves, and was drowned. Meanwhile, Israel was obliged to remain on the wreck, over which the billows were continually breaking; but after the storm ceased, he got safe on shore. He afterwards proceeded to St. Croix, where he is said to have laboured for four years with great success. *(o)*

After Israel's departure, there was no missionary on the island for some years; but, in the meanwhile, the Negro helpers were very useful among their countrymen. At length, in 1753, George Ohneberg came to settle in St. Croix; and the Brethren in St. Thomas purchased a piece of land, consisting of four acres, on which a church and dwelling-house were afterwards erected. *(p)*

In 1755, the Danish islands, in the West-Indies, were transferred from the West-India and Guinea Company to the crown of Denmark; and a governor-general was appointed, who took up his residence in St. Croix. In him the missionaries found a kind friend and protector, especially when, a few years after, a dangerous plot was discovered among the slaves, who had bound themselves to murder all the White people on the island in one night. Certain malicious persons gave out, that some of the Negroes, baptized by the missionaries, were concerned in this conspiracy; but their innocence was soon vindicated, even by the criminals themselves. As long as the disturbances lasted, the Brethren, by the governor's advice, omitted the large meetings of the Negroes; and when he authorized them to begin them again, he and some other gentlemen were present, and encouraged the Negroes in their attendance. On another occasion, when an order was issued that no Negro should be seen on the streets or roads after seven o'clock in the evening, he made a

(o) Crantz's History of the United Brethren. *(p)* Ibid.

regulation, that such Negroes as had frequented the meetings of the Brethren, and could produce a certificate to that effect, signed by their teacher, should pass unmolested by the watch. Such was the confidence which the governor placed in the missionaries and the slaves under their care. *(q)*

In St. Croix, the Brethren have now three flourishing settlements, Friedenstal, Friedensberg, and Friedensfeld, in all of which they have very large congregations. From the commencement of the mission to the year 1788, they had baptized no fewer than 6162 Negroes on this island; and since that period, the number has been greatly augmented. *(r)* In the year 1812, the three congregations consisted of the following members:

	Baptized, &c.	*Communicants.*
Friedenstal, ...	5161	1711
Friedensberg, ...	2982	897
Friedensfeld, ...	300	—
Total, . . .	8443	2608 *(s)*

Article III. St. Jan.

Soon after the commencement of the mission in St. Thomas, some of the converted Negroes were transplanted to this island. There was no missionary, however, settled among them; but they were visited as often as possible by the Brethren from St. Thomas. The congregation on this island consisted at length of about three hundred Negroes; but afterwards it dwindled away to fifteen. At length in 1754, John Brukker went to settle among them; and by means of his labours, the number of the baptized increased considerably. *(t)* The congregations in St. Jan, however,

(q) Crantz's History of the United Brethren.
(r) Period. Acc. vol. i. p. 16. *(s)* Ibid vol. v. p. 368.
(t) Crantz's History of the United Brethren.

have never been near so large, as in the two other Danish islands, St. Thomas and St. Croix.

In August 1793, there was a most tremendous hurricane in the West-Indies. It was felt in various islands, but it appears to have raged with peculiar violence in St. Jan. Of the Brethren's two settlements, Emmaus and Bethany, the latter was most exposed to its fury. It began in the evening, and before morning, the missionaries, and many White and Black people, who had fled to them from the neighbourhood, could scarcely find shelter in any of their buildings. About eight in the morning, the wind changed to the south, and all the Negro houses were swept away in a moment. Shortly after, the church fell with a dreadful crash, and was broken into a thousand pieces. Beams, shingles, rafters, boards, were carried to a great distance in the air; and no person durst venture out of the house, but at the most imminent danger of his life. The dwelling-house was filled with sea-water, which being driven by the violence of the wind upon the roof, ran in streams into the apartments. The whole building trembled, and cracked, and threatened every moment to bury the inhabitants in its ruins. Meanwhile, they were assisted by the Negroes, in fastening the roof with ropes, and in nailing up the doors, windows, and every crevice; but they were, at last, quite overcome with fatigue, and hunger, for they had only a loaf and a half to divide among twenty-six persons, while a little water, sweetened with molasses, was their only drink. Having spent the following night in a most distressing situation, the wind abated early in the morning; and in the course of the day, the sky cleared, and the sun shone so warm, that they had an opportunity of drying their furniture, clothes, and bedding. In other parts of the island, the planters had their dwelling-houses, sugar works, stores, &c. destroyed. The thickest trees in the woods, were broken in the middle; all the cassabi plantations were torn up, and the garden crops totally laid waste. Numbers of vessels were wrecked on the coast, and many people lost their lives. At Emmaus, the

second settlement of the Brethren, the church and dwelling-house were safe; all the other buildings were destroyed. *(u)*

In the year 1812, the congregations of the Brethren, in St. Jan, consisted of the following members:

	Baptized, &c.	*Communicants.*
Emmaus	1006	476
Bethany	455	201
Total	1461	677 *(v)*

Article IV. Jamaica.

Some gentlemen from Jamaica, who possessed considerable estates on that island, having been much impressed by the preaching of the Brethren in London, and being informed of their labours among the Heathen, especially in the Danish West-India islands, requested count Zinzendorf to send some missionaries to instruct their Negroes in the principles of religion, and they mentioned in particular Zechariah G. Caries, whose sermons and conversation had been useful to themselves, *(w)*

Agreeably to their request, Zechariah G. Caries was sent to Jamaica, in October 1754, with two others of the Brethren, as his assistants. The gentleman who made the proposal, were at the expence of supporting them. They built a house for them, on a spot of ground which they appropriated to the use of the mission, and they encouraged their slaves to come to them for instruction, by granting them full liberty for this purpose. In consequence of this the Negroes flocked to the Brethren in such numbers, that within little more than a year after the commencement of the mission, they amounted to about eight hundred, and of these twenty-six were already baptized. On the part of the White people, the missionaries scarcely met with any opposition; and

(u) Period. Acc. vol. i. p. 229. *(v)* Ibid. vol. v. p. 398.
(w) Crantz's History of the United Brethren.

even those few who were, at first, inclined to oppose them, had their prejudices removed, as soon as they heard them preach. They came, in considerable numbers, to hear the discourses of Caries, to the Negroes; but, as this was often a hindrance to him, in speaking to these poor untutored creatures, he began to preach to the White people separately; and there was ground to hope, that he was instrumental in plucking some of them as brands from the fire. *(x)*

In 1757, there were five different plantations, on which Caries preached the gospel to the Negroes; the number of the baptized amounted to seventy-seven, and besides these, there were about four hundred catechumens. Encouraged by these auspicious circumstances, several other Brethren were sent to the island; but these being of different sentiments from the first missionaries, and apprehending that many of the Negroes had been too hastily baptized, introduced a system of greater strictness, and obliged the catechumens to wait longer for baptism. By this means, most of the Negroes were so disheartened, that they drew back; and the harmony of the missionaries was so much interrupted, that they almost desisted from their labours. *(y)*

After the mission had remained for several years in a very languishing state, it experienced a new revival in 1764. The Brethren engaged in it, being now united in their views with regard to the method of evangelizing the Negroes, their labours began to be crowned with considerable success. Such of the slaves as had formerly been baptized, now returned to them; the number of their hearers was greatly augmented, and many of them appeared to be much impressed by the word. The Brethren had now the care of the slaves on nine different plantations; and in one of these, where, in the beginning of 1767, they had scarcely a hundred hearers, before the end of that year, the audience had increased to five hundred. Indeed, the number of Negroes

(x) Crantz's History of the United Brethren. *(y)* Ibid.

baptized in that and the following year, amounted to upwards of two hundred and fifty. *(z)*

But, pleasing as were the prospects of the mission at that period, its progress was speedily checked; and for many years past, it has been in a very languishing state. Of late, indeed, some of the principal planters in Jamaica have given the Brethren considerable encouragement, and have undertaken to provide for the support of more missionaries; but still the work is attended with little success. In 1804, fifty years from the commencement of the mission, the whole number of the Negroes baptized by the Brethren, on the island, amounted only to nine hundred and thirty-eight. *(a)*

Article V. Antigua.

In 1756, Samuel Isles, an English brother, who had laboured for eight years in St. Thomas, went to Antigua, with the view of beginning a mission on that island. Having made known his design, he obtained permission from some of the planters to instruct the Negroes on their estates, and in the course of a few months, he had the pleasure of baptizing several of his swarthy hearers. *(b)*

In 1761, a piece of land was purchased in the town of St. John's, and a church erected upon it; but after he had laboured about three years longer, he departed this life, to the great loss of the poor Negroes. He was succeeded, indeed, by a new missionary; but he also soon followed him to the grave; and though other Brethren were afterwards sent to Antigua, yet their labours were attended with little success. It was a very painful circumstance to them, that most of the Negroes whom they baptized were sent to other

(z) Crantz's History of the United Brethren.

(a) Ibid. Period. Acc. vol. iii. p. 283, 433, 436, 441; vol v. p. 15.

(b) Crantz's History of the United Brethren.

islands, and thus were deprived of the means of further instruction. *(c)*

But dark as were the prospects of the Brethren in Antigua for many years, the cloud was at length dispelled, and the dreary night issued in a glorious morning. This, in fact, has long been the most flourishing of all their missions. From the commencement of the work in 1756, to the opening of the new chapel at St. John's in 1773, a period of seventeen years, only two hundred and ninety-five Negroes were baptized. But about that time, a general awakening began among the slaves, and has not only continued ever since, but has, of late years, been even on the increase. From 1773, until April 1805, the Brethren baptized thirteen thousand seven hundred and ninety-six of the Negroes, including both adults and children; and of these there were no fewer than six thousand two hundred and twenty-eight within the last twelve years, making the whole number, from the commencement of the mission, amount to fourteen thousand and ninety-one. *(d)*

The Brethren have now three settlements in the island of Antigua, St. John's, Gracehill, and Gracebay, the last of which was formed only a few years ago. In April 1809, the congregations in these several places consisted of the following numbers:

Classes.	*St. John's.*	*Grace-hill.*	*Grace-bay.*	*Total.*
Communicants, . . .	2,578	964	643	4,185
Candidates for the communion, ...	584	141	102	827
Baptized, adults & children not yet communicants, ...	2,142	666	499	3,307
Candidates for baptism,	500	512	115	1,127
New people and excluded,	1,050	—	318	—
Total, . . .	6,854	—	1,677	—

(c) Crantz's History of the United Brethren.

(d) Period. Acc. vol. ii. p. 360; vol. iii. p. 223, 282, 398; vol. v. p. 196.

The total amount of these numbers is 10,814; but it must be observed, that in this statement are not included the new people at Gracehill, the second settlement; and it appears, that at the period to which we refer, the Brethren's congregations, in Antigua, consisted of no fewer than 11,824 members. *(e)*

It is an important circumstance, that the prejudices which many entertained against the Negroes learning to read, have, of late years, begun to subside in this island. This is an acquisition which many of these poor creatures are so eager to make, that, notwithstanding the unfavourable nature of their situation as slaves, they have contrived to find means of learning to read, and even used to steal time, for this purpose, from those hours which others devoted to sleep. Encouraged by these circumstances, the Brethren, in June 1810, opened a school in one of their settlements, for teaching the Negro children. They began with about eighty scholars, but in the course of a month the number increased to upwards of six hundred. It was kept only on the Lord's day; and the elder children were employed in teaching the younger on a plan similar to the Lancasterian system. *(f)*

Extensive, however, as has been the success of the Brethren in Antigua, the history of this mission affords none of those striking incidents, which distinguish their labours in many other quarters, where they have been attended with much less success. Living under the protection of the British government, and encouraged by the White inhabitants of the island, they have not had those dangers to encounter, nor those difficulties to surmount, to which many of their fellow missionaries, in barbarous uncivilized countries, have been exposed. In general, they have proceeded in a calm uniform course, daily performing the ordinary duties of their office among the Negroes, dispensing the

(e) Period. Acc. vol. iv. p. 381.

(f) Ibid. vol. v. p. 40. Report of the British and Foreign Bible Society for 1810, Appendix, p. 5.

word of life to them, catechising the children, seeking after the wanderers, visiting the sick, and administering comfort to them in their dying moments. Such circumstances as these are of the most important nature, yet, from their ordinary occurrence, they can afford but little interest to the reader.

In the island of Antigua, there has not even been that mortality among the missionaries which has occurred in some others of the West-India islands. Notwithstanding the size of their congregations, yet from the commencement of the mission in 1756 to 1803, a period of forty-seven years, only thirty-seven Brethren and Sisters were employed in this island; a small number compared with what were found necessary in many other quarters *(g)**

(g) Period. Acc. vol. iii. p. 223.

* Though the United Brethren need the testimony of no man to the importance and utility of their labours; yet as the authority of Bryan Edwards, esq. the historian of the British West-Indies, may have some influence with persons of a certain description, who are prejudiced against missionary exertions in general, we shall here subjoin a short extract from the work of that writer: "It is very much," says he, "to the honour of the legislature of Antigua, that it presented to the sister islands the first example of amelioration of the criminal law respecting Negro slaves, by giving the accused party the benefit of trial by jury, and allowing, in the case of capital convictions, four days between the time of sentence and execution. And it is still more to the honour of Antigua, that its inhabitants have encouraged, in a particular manner, the laudable endeavours of certain pious men, who have undertaken, from the purest and best motives, to enlighten the minds of the Negroes, and lead them into the knowledge of religious truth. In the report of the lords of the committee of council on the slave trade, is an account of the labours of the society known by the name of the *Unitas Fratrum*, commonly called Moravians, in this truly glorious pursuit; from which it appears, that their conduct in this business displays such sound judgment, breathes such a spirit of genuine Christianity, and has been attended with such eminent suc-

Article VI. Barbadoes.

In 1765, two of the Brethren went to Barbadoes with the view of beginning a mission on that island. One of them, however, died immediately after their arrival; and another, who was sent to supply his place, followed him soon after to the grave; while the only one who survived unhappily imbibed the love of the world, and neglected the chief design of the undertaking. The mission was therefore suspended for the present; but it was again renewed in 1767, by the arrival of Benjamin Brickshaw, who was soon after joined by another of the Brethren. Having met with a very favourable reception from some of the principal people in the island, they lost no time in commencing their labours among the Negroes. In a short time, their house became too small for the numbers who attended on their instructions: They, therefore, purchased a building which had been burnt down, together with a garden, and fitted it up as a dwelling-house for themselves, and a meeting-hall for the Negroes. *(h)*

In September 1768, the Brethren had the pleasure of baptizing six of the Negroes as the first fruits of their labours; and it was not long before several others were added to the number. There were now four missionaries on the island; and as some of them were much employed in the way of their trades, and were obliged on this account to travel through the country, they found this method of

(h) Crantz's History of the United Brethren.

cess, as to entitle its Brethren and missionaries to the most favourable reception from every man whom the accidents of fortune have invested with power over the poor Africans, and who believe (as I hope every planter believes) that they are his fellow creatures, and of equal importance with himself in the eyes of an all-seeing and impartial Governor of the universe."—*Edwards' History of the West-Indies*, vol. i. p. 487. Fourth Edition.

gaining their livelihood greatly conducive to the grand object of the mission, as it afforded them an opportunity, in almost every place, of speaking with the Negroes on the subject of religion. Indeed, the planters who now perceived the good effects of their labours on the slaves, invited them to come and preach the gospel on their estates. *(i)*

Such was the promising aspect of the mission in Barbadoes at that period; but it was not long before these pleasing prospects were unhappily overclouded, and for many years it continued in a very languishing condition. In 1794, the whole of the baptized amounted only to seventy-five, most of whom were also communicants; but since that period we have reason to think this number has been considerably augmented; and it is said, that, on the Sabbath, the place of worship is now well attended, both by the Negroes belonging to the congregation, and by strangers. *(k)*

In 1798, one of the Brethren named Waller, together with his wife, embarked for this island, on board a vessel from Bristol. After several fruitless attempts, they at last put to sea; but they were driven by contrary winds into Milford Haven. The wind, however, having shifted, they sailed again the following day; but were overtaken by so violent a storm, that the ship became perfectly unmanageable; and, after driving about at the mercy of the waves for some time, struck on a rock near the harbour of Kinsale, in Ireland. From three till seven in the evening, there appeared nothing before them but a watery grave; but as they were only about two hundred yards from land, the ebbing of the tide shewed them the possibility of escaping to shore. No sooner, however, had they made this discovery, than a gang of robbers, with worse than savage ferocity, rushed upon them with knives and hatchets, and fell to plundering them and the wreck, and even to threaten the lives of all on board.

(i) Crantz's History of the United Brethren.

(k) Ibid. Period Acc. vol. i. p. 16, 263; vol. v. p. 249.

But, at that instant, a party of soldiers approached, and commenced a firing upon the barbarous villains, five of whom were killed in the fray. In the midst of this horrid scene of confusion and distress, the passengers effected their escape to Kinsale. The ship, however, was entirely lost. *(l)*

Article VII. St. Christophers.

In 1774, the United Brethren began a mission on this island; but for many years it was attended with little success. In 1788, the number of the baptized amounted only to a hundred and forty-seven; but about that period the congregation began to increase with great rapidity. Hitherto, the Negroes had met in a room in the missionaries' house; but, in 1789, a church was erected for their accommodation; and it was soon so crowded, that even in the following year, it was too small to contain the regular hearers. On the Sabbath, indeed, whole gangs of slaves attended on the preaching of the word. They came from about forty different plantations, and that number was afterwards increased to upwards of fifty. Besides preaching in the town of Basseterre, the chief seat of the mission, the Brethren met with the Negroes in four different places in the country. *(m)*

In January 1797, the congregation of Christian Negroes on the island of St. Kitts, including the baptized children and the candidates for baptism, consisted of one thousand eight hundred and seventy members; and it appears that, from 1779 to 1809, a period of thirty years, the whole number of the baptized by the Brethren on this island was no fewer than three thousand six hundred and eighty-three. The mission to St. Christophers, which, for many years, was so unpromising, is now, indeed, one of the most flourishing

(l) Period. Acc. vol ii. p. 247.

(m) Ibid. vol. i. p. 16, 17, 83, 264, 316; vol. ii. p. 85.

of the Brethren's settlements among the Heathen; but, for obvious reasons, it affords few circumstances that can be interesting to the general reader. *(n)*

Article VIII. Tobago.

In 1789, the United Brethren sent John Montgomery as a missionary to Tobago; but the death both of himself and his wife, together with the unsettled state of the island about that period, occasioned the suspension of the mission for several years. At length, in 1793, Charles F. W. Shirmer was sent from England to this island; and, on his arrival, he met with a very favourable reception from a number of the planters. Encouraged by their masters, the poor Negroes attended in great numbers on his instructions; and, in the course of a few months, he had the pleasure of baptizing several of them. Afterwards, however, when several of the chief planters, who supported the mission, died, or were otherwise removed from the island, the Negroes in general grew more remiss in their attendance on divine worship; and it appeared that many of them would be satisfied, if they could only obtain baptism and the name of Christians. To this, however, there were happily some exceptions. *(o)*

In 1801, the Brethren, as well as the other White inhabitants of Tobago, were much alarmed by a conspiracy among the Negroes on many of the plantations, to murder all the White people on the island, and also every Mulatto and free Negro who would not join their party. The firing of the gun on Christmas-eve was fixed on as the signal for the general massacre; but providentially the plot was discovered, and the execution of it prevented by the vigilant exertions of the government. It is worthy of notice, that none of the Negroes under the care of the Brethren were

(n) Period. Acc. vol. ii. p. 85; vol. iv. p. 880.
(o) Ibid. vol. i. p. 67, 71; vol. iii. p. 44.

concerned in this conspiracy. This mission we suppose, has since been relinquished, as no notice has been taken of it for a number of years past, and it does not appear in the list of Brethren's settlements. *(p)* *

SECTION III.

North America.

IN 1734, a number of the United Brethren proceeded to North America, and settled in Georgia, with a particular view to the introduction of Christianity among some of the neighbouring tribes of Indians. Soon after their arrival, they began to preach the gospel to the Creek nation, many of whom lived on an island called Irene, about five miles above the town of Savannah; and they likewise established a school for the education of their children. The prosperity of this little colony, however, was of short duration. The neighbouring Spaniards having endeavoured to expel the English from the country, the Brethren were called upon to take up arms against the enemy; and though, on representing the declaration which they had made to the trustees

(p) Period. Acc. vol. iii. p. 95.

* The mission to this island was undertaken in both instances at the particular desire of Mr. Hamilton, one of the planters. It was an object, indeed, which appears to have lain near his heart. In a letter to the Rev. Mr. Latrobe, he expresses himself in the following manner; "It is but just I should do something for these poor people, who do so much for me; and that while they are labouring hard to procure for me the comforts of this life, I should endeavour to procure for them the means of obtaining that which will render them happy, both here and hereafter, and which is far above all earthly possessions." *(Period. Accounts*, vol. ii. p. 482.) Happy would it be, were such the sentiments of the West-India planters in general.

of Georgia before they left Europe, that they would on no account carry arms, they were exempted from all personal interference in the war; yet, as many of the other inhabitants were dissatisfied on that account, and as an application of the same kind was again made to them, on the renewal of the dispute, they left their flourishing plantations, and retired into Pennsylvania, where they were allowed to live in peace. *(a)*

Meanwhile, the Rev. Mr. Spangenberg, who had accompanied the colony to Georgia, returned to Germany; and the picture which he drew of the deplorable condition of the savages made so deep an impression on many of the Brethren, that several of them offered to go and preach the gospel to them, even though it should be attended with the risk of their lives. Twelve were nominated for this arduous undertaking; and, in 1739, Christian Henry Rauch was sent to New-York to commence a mission among some of the neighbouring Indian tribes. On his arrival in that city, some pious people, to whom he was introduced, strongly dissuaded him from the attempt, and represented to him the little probability there was of success. He was not, however, to be discouraged by such representations; but, committing himself and his undertaking to God in prayer, resolved to persevere in the attempt. Some days after, he heard that an embassy of Indians had arrived at New-York, to treat with government. He went in search of them, and found they were Mahikans, or, as they are more commonly called Mohegan Indians. They appeared extremely ferocious in their manners, and were at that time much intoxicated. He waited, however, till they were sober, and then asked two of them, named Tschoop and Shabash, whether they would not like a teacher to settle among them, to instruct them in the way to heaven? To this proposal they readily assented. Some days after, he visited them again;

(a) Loskiel's History of the Mission of the United Brethren in North America, Part II. p 2.

but they were so much intoxicated, that they could neither speak nor stand. Next time, however, that he saw them, they were sober, and they then made some arrangements for their journey to Shekomeko, the place of their residence, a town about twenty-five miles to the eastward of North River. *(b)*

On his arrival at this place, Rauch was received by the Indians with much kindness; but when he spoke to them next day on the subject of religion, they derided his instructions, and laughed him to scorn. Not discouraged, however, by their rude behaviour, he was indefatigable in visiting them daily in their huts; he also travelled among them from town to town, though, as he had neither the means to keep a horse, nor money to hire a boat, he often suffered extremely from heat and fatigue in the woods; and even on his arrival, he was often refused admission in their houses. But he soon forgot all his trials, when he began to observe some favourable symptoms in the two Indians, to whom he had originally made the proposal. Though among the most abandoned of the whole tribe, their eyes now overflowed with tears, whenever he described to them the sufferings and death of our Redeemer. They often lamented their former blindness in worshipping idols, and their ignorance of the true God, who loved them so much, that he sent his Son to save them. *(c)*

Scarcely, however, had he begun to see the fruit of his labours, when some White people in the neighbourhood took the alarm, and endeavoured to thwart his further usefulness. Apprehensive, that should the Indians embrace Christianity, it would prove injurious to their interests, by promoting sobriety among them, these infamous wretches laboured to rouse the indignation of the savages against their teacher, by spreading the basest reports concerning him, and particularly that he intended to seize their young

(b) Loskiel, Part II. p. 7. *(c)* Ibid. Part II. p. 9.

people, carry them beyond the sea, and sell them for slaves. As the Indians are extremely tenacious of their personal liberty, nothing was better calculated to excite their jealousy than such a report, especially as they had too often experienced the baseness and the fraudulence of the White people. Irritated to a high degree by these reports, the savages threatened to shoot the missionary, unless he left the place without further delay. He therefore thought it prudent to go away for a season, and took shelter with a farmer in the neighbourhood. Still, however, he paid daily visits to the Indians at Shekomeko, though often at the risk of his life. Several of the White people sought occasion to beat and abuse him, but this, he was careful not to afford them, uniformly conducting himself in the mildest and most inoffensive manner. Some threatened to hang him up in the woods; others endeavoured to intoxicate the savages, in the hope they might murder him in a drunken frolic. An Indian once ran after him with his hatchet, and would certainly have killed him, had he not accidentally stumbled and fallen into the water. Even Tschoop, who had manifested some concern about his soul, was so incensed against him, that he sought an opportunity of shooting him; and Shabash, though he did not threaten his life, was always careful to avoid his company. Rauch, however, was not dismayed by these various difficulties and dangers, but presisted in his labours with unshaken courage and unremitting zeal, in the hope they would at length be crowned with success. *(d)*

By degrees, the Indians began to admire his patience, perseverance, and courage, combined, as they were, with so much meekness, gentleness, and humility. He often spent half a day in their huts, ate and drank with them in a friendly manner, and even lay down to sleep in the midst of them with the utmost composure. This circumstance made a deep impression on the minds of the Indians, particularly on

(d) Loskiel, Part II. p. 11.

Tschoop. One day, when the missionary was lying in his hut, fast asleep, he was struck at the sight, and thought with himself: "This cannot be a bad man: He fears no evil, not even from us who are so savage. Here he sleeps comfortably, and places his life in our hands." On further reflection, he was convinced that the reports circulated by the White people concerning him, were entirely without foundation, and proceeded merely from their own wickedness and malice. He now endeavoured to persuade his countrymen of the missionary's innocence; and notwithstanding their violent jealousy, he succeeded in removing their prejudices, and re-establishing confidence between them. *(e)*

Having now regained the friendship of the Indians, Rauch had soon the pleasure of witnessing the fruit of his labours among them. Several of them were much impressed with the love of Christ to sinners, as displayed in his sufferings and death. The change which took place on Tschoop, in particular, was remarkably striking. Formerly he was the greatest drunkard in the whole town; he was quite outrageous in sin, and had even rendered himself a cripple by his debaucheries. Now, the drunkard had learned to be sober, and the man who was savage as a bear became mild and peaceful as a lamb. He afterwards gave the Brethren the following simple yet interesting account of his conversion: "I," said he, "have been a Heathen, and have grown old among the Heathen; therefore I know how the Heathen think. Once a preacher came, and began to tell us there was a God. We answered him, saying, 'Dost thou think us so ignorant as not to know that? Go back to the place from whence thou camest.' Then another preacher came to us, and began to say: 'You must not steal, nor lie, nor get drunk.' To him we answered: 'Thou fool, dost thou think that we do not know that? Learn first thyself, and then teach thy own people to leave off these practices. For

(e) Loskiel, Part. II. p. 13.

who steal, or lie, or who are more drunken than the White men?' Thus we dismissed him. After some time, Brother Rauch came into my hut, and sat down by me. He then spoke to me as follows: 'I am come to you in the name of the Lord of heaven and earth. He sends to let you know that he will make you happy, and deliver you from that misery in which you at present lie. For this purpose he became a man, gave his life a ransom, and shed his blood for us,' &c. When he had finished his discourse, he lay upon a board, fatigued by his journey, and fell into a sound sleep. I then thought, 'What kind of a man is this? There he sleeps. I might kill him, and throw him out into the wood; and who would regard it? But this gives him no care or concern. At the same time, I could not forget his words. They constantly recurred to my mind: Even when I slept, I dreamed of that blood which Christ shed for us. I found this to be something different from what I had ever heard before; and I interpreted Christian Henry's words to the other Indians. Thus, through the grace of God, an awakening began among us. Brethren, preach Christ our Saviour, and his sufferings and death, if you would have your words to gain entrance among the Heathen." *(f)*

In the spring of 1742, several of the Indians were baptized, among whom were Tschoop and Shabash, The gospel, indeed, now made rapid progress, not only in Shekomeko, but in some of the neighbouring towns, particularly Pachpatgoch, and Wachquatnach. It was truly delightful to see the poor Indians coming from places twenty-five miles to hear the new preacher, who, as they expressed it, spoke of God who became man, and loved the Indians so much, that he gave his life to save them from the Devil and the service of sin. The doctrine of the atonement, as preached by the missionary, and confirmed by the young converts, so touched and melted the hearts of the savages, that the fields seemed, as it were, white for the harvest." *(g)*

(f) Loskiel, Part II. p. 13. *(g)* Ibid. Part II. p. 19.

Encouraged by the prospect of success, several of the Brethren now joined Rauch in his labours; and it was not long before they discovered themselves to be men of the same stamp, endowed with the like zeal, and possessed of a similar disinterested spirit. Such was their humility, that they earned their livelihood chiefly by working for the Indians; though the savages, as may easily be conceived, were able to pay them but little for their labour: They lived and dressed in the Indian manner; so that in travelling through the country, they were often taken for natives. They now extended their labours to some of the neighbouring towns; and in general, they met with a kind reception from the people, though they were by no means without their trials. Some Brethren who resided at Bethlehem, a settlement they had lately formed in Pennsylvania, and others who came merely on a visit to North America, among whom was count Zinzendorf himself, likewise made journies among the Indians in various parts of the country, and preached the gospel to them; and though this was not productive of any immediate good effects, yet the kindness with which they uniformly treated the savages, made a strong impression on their minds, and prepared them for the reception of the gospel. *(h)*

Meanwhile, the Indian congregation at Shekomeko continued to flourish and increase. When some of the converts were admitted, for the first time, to the Lord's Supper, there was a most delightful season among them. "During the meeting for adoration and praise," says one of the Brethren, "we were overcome with weeping; and while I live I shall never forget the impression which this first communion with the North American Indians made upon me." On another occasion of the same kind, a few months after, many of them declared that they thought a person never could have felt so happy in this world; the pleasure they enjoyed was beyond description. About this time, the

(h) Loskiel, Part II. p. 24, 45, 51.

congregation made a number of statutes for the regulation of their affairs; and in order that these laws might be strictly executed, they chose Cornelius, one of the converts who had formerly been a captain among the savages, to be the overseer, an office which he exercised with great faithfulness, and to the general satisfaction of his countrymen. One day, however, after the administration of the Lord's Supper, he came and begged to be dismissed from that post, alleging that he had felt such happiness during the sacrament, that he resolved to retire from all public business, and to devote his whole time to uninterrupted communion with the Saviour. He was easily persuaded, indeed, to retain his office until one could be found to succeed him; but it was on this condition that he should no longer be styled captain, "for," said he, "I am the least among my brethren." *(i)* On many occasions, the remarks which the converts made were simple yet striking. A trader having endeavoured to persuade Shabash that the Brethren were not privileged teachers, the Indian replied: "It may be so; but I know what they have told me, and what God has wrought within me. Look at my poor countrymen there, lying drunk before your door. Why do you not send privileged teachers to convert them? Four years ago I also lived like a beast, and not one of you troubled himself about me. But when the Brethren came, they preached the cross of Christ, and I have experienced the power of his blood, so that sin has no longer dominion over me. Such are the teachers we want." *(k)* One of the Indians who had embraced Christianity, having forsaken the congregation, Rauch set out to seek him, though he was forty miles off hunting in the woods. When the Indian saw him, he was frightened, and seemed as if he had been struck by a thunderbolt. The missionary accosted him in a mild and friendly manner; told him the design of his visit; and added, that should he fly to the distance of two or three

(i) Loskiel, Part II. p. 46. *(k)* Ibid. Part II. p. 55.

hundred miles, still they would search him out. The wanderer was amazed, and could make no reply; He only exclaimed in broken sentences: "Does Buettner * remember me still?—Are you come merely to seek after me?—I am in a bad, in a wretched state." Next morning, he repeated these questions, adding more to the same purpose; and then began to weep most bitterly. Nor could he comprehend how the Brethren should love such a miserable wretch, who had been a source of so much grief to them. When Rauch, therefore, assured him that they loved him still, he gave full vent to his tears, begged them to pray for him, and promised to return soon. He accordingly came back shortly, after, accompanied by another of the Indians who had gone astray; and both of them ever after, remained steadfast to their Christian profession, and adorned it by their life and conversation. *(l)*

In the spring of 1744, a most violent and unmerited persecution was begun against the Brethren, by some White people in their neighbourhood. These miscreants had never ceased to employed every mean in their power to thwart the labours of the missionaries, and to seduce the Indians from them, not only by circulating the basest and most unfounded reports, but by trying to promote intoxication and other odious crimes among them. Having failed in poisoning the minds of the Indians by these insidious arts, they now endeavoured to rouse the fears of their own countrymen, by representing the Brethren as in league with the French in Canada, and as employed to furnish the savages with arms to fight and murder the English. This report they spread far and wide; and asserted it with so much confidence, that the whole country at last believed it, and were struck with terror, and inflamed with rage. The inhabitants of Sharon, a neighbouring town, remained under

(l) Loskiel, Part II. p. 66.

* One of the missionaries who appears to have had a particular attachment to him, and who died shortly after.

arms for a whole week together, and some even forsook their plantations. The missionaries were now, with singular consistency, called upon to serve in the militia; but they represented, that, as ministers of the gospel, they ought to be exempted from military service; and, accordingly, after a variety of vexatious proceedings against them, this claim appears to have been relinquished. They were afterwards, however, dragged from court to court, and even before the governor of New-York; but notwithstanding the violence of their enemies, they were honourably acquitted, many of the people, and even some of the most distinguished magistrates, candidly acknowledging the purity of their intentions, and the utility of their labours. Being thus baffled in these various attempts, their adversaries now changed their mode of attack. Knowing the aversion of the Brethren to the taking of oaths, they procured an act of assembly, ordaining that all suspicious persons should take the oath of allegiance, or be expelled from the province; and they had likewise the influence to procure another act, expressly prohibiting the missionaries from instructing the Indians, under the old pretence that they were in league with the French, and forbidding them, under a heavy penalty, to appear again among them, without having first taken the oath required. *(m)*

Being, in this manner, obliged to leave the province of New-York, the missionaries retired to Bethlehem in Pennsylvania. The grief they felt at parting with their beloved congregation is beyond description; but they resolved to wait with patience, till God should manifest their innocence, and dispel the storm. The Indians, in the meanwhile, continued to keep up their usual meetings; and some of the Brethren occasionally went from Bethlehem, and held conferences with them, though at the risk of persecution to themselves. Two of them, Frederic Post, and David Zeisberger, a man of whom we shall often have occasion to make honourable mention, when on a journey to the

(m) Loskiel, Part II. p. 57.

Iroquois Indians, were unexpectedly arrested at Albany, and after suffering many indignities, were carried to New-York, and imprisoned for seven weeks. *(n)*

But though a mutual intercourse was still kept up between Shekomeko and Bethlehem, it was evident, that the suspension of the regular services of the missionaries could not fail to be ultimately injurious to the interests of the congregation. The Brethren, therefore, proposed, that the Indians should remove from the province of New-York, and settle upon some eligible spot in Pennsylvania; and, in order that no difficulty might remain on the part of the Iroquois, to whom that part of the country belonged, which they had ultimately in view, they sent an embassy to the great council at Onondago, to ask permission for the congregation to take up their residence upon it. To this proposal, the Iroquois readily agreed; but, contrary to all expectation, the Indians at Shekomeko refused to accede to it. They alleged, that the governor of New-York had particularly commanded them to remain in their own town, and had promised them his protection; that on this account, they could not leave the country, without giving rise to further suspicion, and exposing the missionaries to new persecution; they likewise intimated, that if they should emigrate, their unbaptized friends and relations would yet remain in the town, and probably return to their old sinful courses, a circumstance which would give them the greatest uneasiness. *(o)*

It was not long, however, before a circumstance occurred, which obliged the congregation to follow the advice of the Brethren; for the White people came to a resolution to drive the Christian Indians from Shekomeko, under the specious pretence that the ground on which the town was built did not belong to them, and that the rightful owners would soon come and take possession of it. They accordingly seized upon the land, and appointed a watch to prevent

(n) Loskiel. Part II. p. 63, 69. *(o)* Ibid. Part II. p. 78.

the visits of the Brethren from Bethlehem. Besides, it was reported, that a thousand French troops were on their march to the province, and that the Indians of Shekomeko were to unite with them, and then to ravage the country with fire and sword. This rumour excited such rage and terror among the English, particularly at Reinbeck, that the inhabitants of that town demanded a warrant from a magistrate, to go and kill all the Indians at Shekomeko. The warrant, indeed, was not granted; but yet the oppression of these poor unoffending creatures arose, at length, to such a pitch, that though they were strongly attached to their own village, a number of them resolved to leave it, and to accept of the invitation of the Brethren to come to Bethlehem, where they accordingly erected some temporary habitations for themselves and their families. *(p)*

But as it was soon found that an Indian town could not be conveniently supported so near to Bethlehem, the Brethren purchased a piece of land, consisting of two hundred acres, situated about thirty miles from that place, near the junction of the rivers Mahony and Lecha, where they might build, plant, and live in their own way. Having here marked out a new town, which they called Gnadenhuetten, or *Tents of Grace*, numbers of the Indians immediately repaired thither, and began to clear the land, and to build themselves houses. When the news of this settlement reached Shekomeko, many of the Christian converts, who still remained in that place, resolved to leave it; but their enemies, though determined to expel them from the town, having seen, with regret, that all the others had emigrated to the Brethren, now endeavoured to frighten the remainder from going to them, by circulating a false and malicious report, that the last party had been attacked and murdered on the road. The Indians, however, who were then preparing for the journey, disregarded the rumour, and set forward without fear. The emigration of

(p) Loskiel, Part II. p. 80, 82.

the converts, indeed, was attended by other embarrassing circumstances. Many of them were drowned in debt, contracted by them in their unconverted state, and increased not a little by the base impositions of their creditors. As soon, therefore, as a family proposed to remove, the traders brought in bills against them, demanded immediate payment, and even threatened to cast them into prison. The converts not being able to pay their debts, and not willing to run away, had no resource but to apply to the congregation at Bethlehem to assist them, who accordingly did it with the greatest readiness. The settling of the Indians at Gnadenhuetten was, in other respects, attended with no small trouble and expence. As the land was covered with trees and shrubs, it required to be cleared and planted. The Brethren joined the Indians in these operations, and had their meals in common with them; but as the converts were unacquainted with husbandry, and unable to bear much fatigue, the heaviest part of the work fell upon their teachers, which they cheerfully endured, considering it as done in the service of Christ. *(q)*

In a short time Gnadenhuetten became a very regular pleasant town. The church stood in the valley; on one side were the Indian houses, in the form of a crescent, upon a rising ground; on the other the house of the missionaries and the burying ground. The Brethren tilled their own land, and every Indian family their own plantation. Christian Rauch and Martin Mack were the first missionaries who resided at this place. They were afterwards succeeded by other Brethren, who were also occasionally removed, as it was supposed that frequent changes of the ministers of the congregation might be useful in preventing the Indians from placing their dependence on men, and leading them to fix their hope on God alone. *(r)*

Meanwhile, the situation of the Christian converts, who remained at Shekomeko and the neighbouring towns, became

(q) Loskiel, Part II. p. 81, 84. *(r)* Ibid. Part II. p. 87.

every day more embarrassing. The French Indians having made an inroad into the neighbouring country, setting fire to the houses and murdering the inhabitants, the English called upon all who were able to carry arms, to rise in their own defence. This message being sent to the Christian Indians, as well as others, several of them joined the army, while the rest lived in a state of perpetual apprehension and alarm. By this means, however, some of them were convinced of their error, in neglecting the advice of the Brethren; and several of them wrote or dictated very penitential letters to the congregation. "I am like a child," said one, "whose father loves him dearly, clothes him, and gives him all he stands in need of. Afterwards, the child becomes refractory, deserts his parents, and despises his counsel. At length, through folly, he loses all the good things he possessed; his clothes become ragged; nakedness and want follow. Then remembering how well he fared, he weeps night and day, yet scarcely presumes to return. This is precisely my situation." Such is a specimen of the figurative language in which the Indians clothed their penitential expressions of sorrow. But there were others who suffered themselves to to be prejudiced against the missionaries; many disorderly proceedings took place among them, and years elapsed before they returned to the congregation of the faithful. *(s)*

The temporal support of the Indian congregation at Gnadenhuetten, was a principal object of the care and attention of the Brethren. It was a striking and interesting proof of the influence of religion upon the converts, that they laboured diligently at their work, and planted the fields allotted to each of their families. But as, owing to the increase of their numbers, the land was not large enough for them, the Brethren bought a neighbouring plantation for their use, a circumstance which afforded them much satifaction. Besides, a saw-mill was erected in the settlement, and many of them had an opportunity of earning a little money,

(s) Loskiel, Part II. p. 86, 88.

by cutting timber, and conveying it to Bethlehem in floats, down the river Lecha. Hunting, however, continued to be their chief support, and from fifteen to twenty deers or bears were frequently shot in a day. When provisions were scarce, they gathered wild honey, chesnuts, and bilberries, in the woods. *(t)*

Still, however, a constant supply of provisions was required from Bethlehem; for the congregation at Gnadenhuetten were frequently visited by companies of Indians belonging to various tribes, particularly Delawares and Shawanose, whom they not only received with kindness, but entertained free of expence, rejoicing that, by this means, their Pagan countrymen had an opportunity of hearing the gospel. In the course of these visits, nothing made so deep an impression on the savages, as the peace and harmony which prevailed among the Christian Indians, and the patience and resignation they displayed in the midst of trouble, circumstances so diametrically opposite to their national character. These visits of the savages were also very agreeable to the missionaries, as they hoped some of them might, by this means, be brought to the knowledge of Christ; but, in some instances, they were extremely troublesome, by their wild disorderly conduct. It was, therefore, necessary to act with great circumspection in the treatment of them. By severity they might be deterred from repeating their visits; and yet disorder was not to be tolerated in the town, lest it should prove injurious to the Christian Indians, particularly to the young people. The Brethren, therefore, introduced some salutary regulations, with the view of preventing these different evils. *(u)*

The Indian congregation increased, by degrees, to about five hundred persons; and as the church became too small to hold them, it was necessary to erect a new place of worship. About the same time, a school was opened, consisting of three different classes, namely, the children, the boys, and

(t) Loskiel, Part II. p. 104. *(u)* Ibid. Part II. p. 105.

the young men. Mistresses were also appointed for the classes of girls and young women. A regulation was likewise made for the maintenance of poor widows and orphans, who, it was agreed, should be placed in different families, and provided with the necessaries of life in the same manner as relations. *(v)*

Besides labouring with unwearied diligence at Gnadenhuetten, the missionaries and others of the Brethren made frequent journies among the Indians in other parts of the country; and in various instances attempted to establish settlements among them. The Iroquois, or, as they are commonly called, the Six Nations, were the principal object of their benevolent exertions. Some of the Brethren visited Shomokin, and various other places on the river Susquehannah; and though the Indians in that quarter were among the most savage drunken wretches in the whole country, yet, on their applying to the governor of Pennsylvania for a blacksmith to settle in that place, the Brethren embraced this opportunity of sending one or two missionaries to reside among them. This establishment was attended with great expence, as all the necessaries of life had to be sent to them from Bethlehem; and, indeed, the missionaries were not unfrequently in danger of their lives, from the violence of the savages, particularly, in their drunken fits. *(w)* Besides making frequent journies to Wajomick, and other places in the neighbourhood, the Brethren visited Onondago, the chief town of the Iroquois, and the seat of their great council, from whom they received permission for two of the missionaries to settle in that place, for the purpose of learning the language; and, accordingly, when two of them went thither, they were received by the Indians with the utmost cordiality; but yet they often suffered much from want, and were obliged to hunt for their subsistence, or seek roots in the forest. *(x)* The

(v) Loskiel, Part II. p. 118.
(w) Ibid. Part II. p. 91, 101, 106, 148.
(x) Ibid. Part. II. p. 120, 140, 147, 155.

Brethren likewise made various journies to Shekomeko, Pachpatgoch, and Wechquatnach, the scene of their early labours. In the first of these places, every thing was now destroyed except the burying ground; but there were still a number of the Indians, who had wandered from the paths of religion, some of whom they persuaded to return to the congregation. In the other two places, the Christian Indians were formed into a regular congregation, and had missionaries settled among them, and for several years they proceeded in a very pleasing manner. *(y)* Meniolagomekah, a town about one day's journey from Bethlehem, was likewise often visited by the Brethren; a regular establishment of the Christian Indians was formed in that place, and a missionary was at length settled among them. *(z)* So various and extended were the labours of these excellent men.

In the meanwhile, the course of the Indian congregation at Gnadenhuetten, was peaceful, prosperous, and happy; but there at length arose a succession of troubles, of the most unpleasant kind, and which were followed by consequences of the most tragical nature. In March, 1753, an embassy of Nantikoks and Shawanose arrived at Bethlehem, with a proposal that the congregation should remove from Gnadenhuetten to Wajomick, in the Indian country. For this change, they assigned no particular reason; but it afterwards appeared, that they had secretly determined to join the French, in hostilities against the English; but that they wished, in the first instance, to provide a safe retreat for their countrymen, the Christian Indians, that so they might attack, the more easily, the White people in that part of the country. Most of the congregation, however, were averse to leave their present settlement, especially after they discovered the design of the proposal; but yet there was a party in favour of it, and, at last, upwards of eighty retired to Wajomick, and the neighbourhood. They had scarcely, however, left the town, when

(y) Loskiel, Part II. p. 101, 113, 115, 181, 188.
(z) Ibid. Part II. p. 116, 142.

their loss was, in some degree, made up, by the arrival of about fifty Christian Indians from Meniolagomekah, who were ordered by the proprietor to leave that place. *(a)*

It was not long, however, before the tranquillity of the congregation at Gnadenhuetten was again disturbed. They were not only charged with a kind of tribute, as an acknowledgment of their dependence on the Iroquis; but a new message was sent to them to the following effect: "The great head, that is, the council of the Iroquois in Onondago, speak the truth and lie not. They rejoice that some of the believing Indians have removed to Wajomick; but now they lift up the remaining Mohegans and Delawares, and set them down also in that place; for there a fire is kindled for them; there they may plant and think on God: but if they will not hearken, the great council will come and clear their ears with a red hot iron," meaning, that they would burn their houses, and shoot them with musket balls. This threatening, especially at first, was not entirely without effect: Some of the congregation thought it best to remove to Wajomick; others again refused to emigrate. It was discovered, indeed, that the plan of removing them did not originate in the great council of the Iroquois, but only with the Oneida tribe, and the warlike Delawares and Mohegans, who falsely ascribed it to the Six Nations in general. The Brethren used no authority with their people to make them remain in their present residence; but they employed the most gentle and affectionate representations, and that with so good an effect, that almost all of them resolved to stay. One of them said: "What can the chief captain of the Six Nations give me in exchange for my soul? He does not consider how that will fare at last." "God," said another, "who made me and saved me, is also able to protect me. I am not afraid of the anger of men, for not a hair of my head can fall to the ground without his will." *(b)*

(a) Loskiel, Part II. p. 143, 149.
(b) Ibid. Part II. p. 157.

Hostilities having commenced between the French and the English, the Indian war at length began. The whole country was now involved in disorder and bloodshed: Every day disclosed new scenes of barbarity committed by the savages. The inhabitants of the country knew not what to do, nor whither to go. Some fled to the east; some to the west; some sought safety in places which others had just forsaken. The Christian Indians at Gnadenhuetten being considered as the friends of the British government, were in the most iminent danger of being destroyed by the French Indians; and as the most dreadful reports were daily multiplying from all quarters, some were so much intimidated that they took refuge in the woods. But the greater part of the congregation remained in the town, and the missionaries resolved to stand by their post, notwithstanding the dangers to which they were exposed. This, however, was a fatal resolution, and in a short time was followed by the most tragical consequences. *(c)*

One night, in November 1755, a party of French Indians arrived in the neighbourhood, and attacked the house of the missionaries. As the family were sitting at supper, they heard an uncommon barking of dogs, upon which Gottlob Senseman, one of the Brethren, went out at the back door to see what was the matter. On hearing the report of a gun, several others of them ran to open the house door. Here stood a number of Indians with their pieces pointed to it, and no sooner was it opened than they instantly fired and killed Martin Nitschman on the spot. His wife also, and some others, were wounded, but they flew up stairs to the garret with the utmost precipitation, and barricadoed the door with bedsteads. Partsch, one of the Brethren, jumped out at a back window; and another of them named Worbas, who was ill in bed in an adjoining house, escaped in a similar manner, though the enemy had placed a guard at his door. Meanwhile the savages

(c) Loskiel, Part II. p. 164.

pursued those who took refuge in the garret, and endeavoured to burst open the door; but being baffled in the attempt, they set the house on fire. A boy named Sturgeons, having got on the flaming roof, leapt down and made his escape; though, on the opening of the back door, a ball had grazed his cheek, and one side of his head was severely burnt. Encouraged by this, one of the Sisters, the wife of the missionary Partsch, followed his example, and having come down unhurt, fled unobserved by the enemy, and hid herself behind a tree, upon a hill, near the house. Christian Fabricius, one of the Brethren, was the next who made the attempt; but before he could escape, he was perceived by the savages, and instantly wounded with two balls: He was the only one whom they seized alive; and after despatching him with their hatchets, they cut off his scalp, and left him dead on the ground. All the others who fled to the garret were burnt to death. Senseman, the missionary who went out at the back door, had the inexpressible grief to behold his wife perish in this miserable manner. When surrounded by the flames, she was seen standing with folded hands, and in the spirit of a martyr was heard to exclaim: "'Tis all well, Dear Saviour!" The whole number who perished in this terrible catastrophe was eleven, namely Martin Nitschman, the first who was killed, and Susanna his wife; Gottlieb Anders, his wife and daughter, an infant only fifteen months old; Anna Catherine Senseman; Christian Fabricius; Leonard Gattermeyer; George Shweigert, Martin Presser, and John Frederic Lesly. Five only made their escape. Besides burning the house, the savages set fire to the barns and stables, and thus destroyed all the corn, hay, and cattle. They then divided the spoil, soaked some bread in milk, and, after making a hearty meal, departed from the place. *(d)*

On this occasion the Brethren were the only sufferers; the Indian congregation providentially escaped. As soon as

(d) Loskiel, Part II. p. 166. A Succinct Account of the Missions of the Brethren, 1771, p. 9.

they heard the report of the guns, and saw the house of the missionaries in flames, and learned the cause of the sad catastrophe, they offered to go and attack the enemy; but being advised to the contrary by one of the Brethren, they all fled into the neighbouring woods, by which means the town was cleared of them in a few minutes, though some were already in bed, and had scarcely time to dress themselves. But though they escaped with their lives, they lost their property; for the savages afterwards returned, set fire to the town, destroyed the mill, and laid waste all their plantations. Thus the Indian congregation were reduced to the utmost poverty. *(e)*

These were disastrous events; but yet they proved the mean of averting still greater calamities. About this very time there was a design on foot to overturn the whole establishments of the Brethren in North America. Some infamous villain had forged a letter, purporting to be written by a French officer at Quebec, in which he was represented as stating: "That his countrymen were certain of soon conquering the English, as the Indians had not only taken their part, but the Moravians also were their good friends, and would afford them every assistance in their power." This letter being published in the newspapers, did not fail to excite general suspicion of the Brethren; and this suspicion, instead of being diminished, was increased by their calm, patient, steady behaviour. That cheerfulness which sprung from a consciousness of their own innocence, as well as from resignation to the will of God, was considered by the deluded multitude as a certain indication of their guilt, As the common people were exceedingly exasperated against them, the Brethren were under perpetual apprehensions of being attacked by a mob; nor could government probably have protected them, though convinced of the purity of their intentions, and the utility of their labours. In the Jerseys, a declaration was publicly made with beat of drum, that

(e) Loskiel, Part II. p. 167, 171.

Bethlehem should be destroyed; and the most dreadful threatenings were added, that in the several settlements of the Brethren, such a carnage should be made as had never before been heard of in North America. It afterwards appeared, from the best authority, that a party of a hundred men who came to Bethlehem, were sent for the express purpose of raising a mob; but the friendly and hospitable manner in which they were treated by the inhabitants, who knew nothing of their intentions, disarmed them of their malice, and made them alter their design. Thus the Brethren were, in general, considered as the secret friends and allies of the French; and these suspicions were daily on the increase, when the attack on their missionary settlement on the Mahony convinced the deluded people of their mistake, since they were among the first in the country against whom the enemy had directed their rage. Such, indeed, was the revolution in the public sentiment, that Bethlehem, and the other settlements of the Brethren, soon became a common asylum for the White people, who fled from the murderous ravages of the Indians. Hundreds of men, women, and children, came even from distant places, begging for shelter, some of them almost entirely destitute, as they had left their all behind them, and fled in the night. These the Brethren supplied with food and clothes, and other necessaries, to the utmost of their ability, notwithstanding they themselves had suffered considerable losses by the inroads of the savages, while, at the same time, their resources were materially diminished by the troubles of the war. *(f)*

Meanwhile, the Indian congregation had likewise retired from Gnadenhuetten to Bethlehem, a circumstance which contributed to render the situation of that place still more dangerous. On the one hand, the savages insisted on their Indian brethren rising in arms against the English, and threatened to come and murder them all in case of refusal.

(f) Loskiel, Part II. p. 169, 175.

On the other, there arose among the White people a set of fanatics, who demanded the total extirpation of the Indian tribes, lest the vengeance of God should fall upon the Christians for not destroying them, as on the Israelites of of old, for not exterminating the Canaanites; and, as might be expected, they were mightily incensed against the Brethren, on account of the protection and assistance which they afforded to a race of beings, whom they, in their wisdom, deemed accursed of God. The Moravians were also, in a peculiar manner, the object of the rage and malice of the enemy. Four soldiers who deserted from their regiment and fled to the savages, told them, that at Bethlehem, they saw the Brethren cut off the heads of all the Indians in that town, put them into bags, and send them to Philadelphia, where they received fifty dollars for each; and that they had left only two alive, with the view of employing them as spies. On hearing this report, the savages were so enraged, that, though they had no great regard for the Indian congregation, a large party of them set off to murder all the Brethren, and to burn their settlements. By the interference, however, of a chief who was friendly to the missionaries, most of them were induced to return, while the few who still presisted in their design, not judging themselves a match for the enterprise, thought proper to disperse. Sometimes, too, well-disposed Indians, on hearing of a plot against them by the warriors, would travel all night to warn the Brethren of it, and thus frustrated the schemes of the enemy. *(g)*

Being, in this manner, continually exposed to dangers and death, the inhabitants of Bethlehem considered themselves as sheep ready for slaughter. At night, when they lay down to sleep, they knew not whether they should behold the morning; in the morning when they rose, they knew not whether they should see the evening. In general, however they displayed wonderful resignation to the will of God.

(g) Loskiel, Part II. p. 168, 172, 174.

Not an individual left the place; each seemed chiefly concerned to be prepared to die. At the same time, they neglected no mean that might contribute to their safety. They surrounded the town with palisadoes: they maintained a constant watch, both by night and by day; even those who were at work in the plantations had a guard to attend them. This office was committed chiefly to the Indians, who considered it as a high honour to be thus employed. "Who am I," said one of them, "that I should watch over the children of God? I, poor man, am not worthy of this grace. Nor can I guard them aright: therefore, watch thou over them, gracious Saviour, for thou alone canst protect them." *(h)*

By such means as these, the settlement was happily preserved from several attacks which the savages designed against it. They still continued to lay waste the neighbouring country, and every where committed the greatest barbarities. They plundered and destroyed several villages so near to Bethlehem, that the flames of the houses were distinctly seen from that place. They even approached the town itself, lurking about with torches, and endeavouring to shoot burning wadding upon the roofs, to set fire to the place. They attempted, five or six times in the night, to make a sudden attack upon this and some other settlements of the Brethren; but when the spies observed, that the inhabitants were upon their guard, they were afraid, and were glad to withdraw. One day, a party of them were on their way to a field, where about forty Sisters were picking flax, whom they intended to seize and carry off as prisoners. They were already close to it, creeping on their bellies in the Indian manner; but on perceiving a strong guard of Indian Brethren, with their pieces loaded, they were glad to retire; and thus an engagement was happily avoided; for though the latter were very unwilling to shed the blood of their enemies, yet they were determined to defend the women and children entrusted

(h) Loskiel, Part II. p. 172.

to their care, and consequently had an attack been made, they would have fired upon the assailants, and probably have killed many of them, a circumstance which would have occasioned both them and the missionaries inexpressible sorrow. *(i)*

By degrees, the Indian congregation began to enjoy peace and rest, dwelling in safety under the wings of the Brethren at Bethlehem. Some few, indeed, seduced by the arts of their countrymen, forsook the place, and relapsed into Heathenism; but, in general, they remained steadfast to their Christian profession, and exhibited many pleasing proofs of the influence of religion on their heart and life. The Litany having been translated into the Mohegan language, public worship was begun in that dialect. The schools were established and conducted in the usual manner. The children frequently met together, and celebrated the praises of the Redeemer in German, Mohegan, and Delaware hymns. On the whole, Bethlehem began to assume the aspect of a missionary settlement. *(k)*

But as the residence of the Indians in Bethlehem was attended with many disadvantages, the Brethren obtained for them a grant of land from government, at a place about a mile distant. Here they erected a settlement which they called Nain. In a short time, most of the baptized, who, at the invitation of the savages, had moved to Wajomick, or who had fled to the Susquehannah, after the murder of the missionaries, returned and obtained permission to reside in the town. They were lodged at first beyond the river Lecha, until they afforded full proof of their repentence; but as soon as they gave evidence of this, they were received with joy into the fellowship of the congregation. *(l)* The inhabitants of Nain, indeed, increased so rapidly, chiefly by the return of those who had wandered during the late troubles, that it soon became necessary to divide them, and to form a

(i) Loskiel, Part II. p. 173. *(k)* Ibid. Part II. p. 177, 182.
(l) Ibid. Part II. p. 182, 189.

second settlement. With this view, the Brethren at Bethlehem purchased a tract of land behind the Blue Mountains, consisting of about fourteen hundred acres. Thither a number of Indians repaired under the inspection of one of the missionaries; and having erected a new town, which they called Wechquetank, they introduced into it the same regulations as at Nain. *(m)*

For a considerable time, both the congregations enjoyed peace, prosperity, and rest; and even the external appearance of the settlements excited the most pleasing emotions in every serious and reflecting mind. Hostilities were long suspended in this part of the country; and for several years, the congregation received no disturbance from the savages; but at length they broke forth with fresh vigour, and involved the Christian Indians in new calamities. *(n)*

In 1763, the Brethren received intelligence, that the Indians had commenced hostilities near the lakes of Canada and on the river Ohio, where they had murdered several hundred of the White people. They had even begun to make incursions into Pennsylvania; and there was every reason to dread a repetition of those melancholy scenes, which had been exhibited a few years before on the banks of the Mahony. Besides, some persons revived the old foolish doctrine, that this new war was a punishment from God on the White people, because they had neglected to extirpate the savages; and therefore they asserted, that all the Indians, without exception, should be put to the sword. A party of Irish freebooters, in particular, declared, that no Indian should appear in the woods, under the pain of being shot immediately; and that if only one White man was murdered in that neighbourhood, the whole Irish settlement would rise in arms, and kill all the inhabitants of Nain and Wechquetank, without waiting for an order from government, or even a warrant from a justice of the peace. In

(m) Loskiel, Part II. p. 193.

(n) Ibid. Part II. p. 182, 189, 193, 202.

consequence of these threatnings, the congregation were often harassed by false alarms; but, at length, on the eighth of October, a messenger arrived at midnight, with the painful intelligence, that the savages had attacked an Irish settlement, a few miles from Bethlehem, and killed a captain, a lieutenant, several soldiers, and a Mr. S****, whose wife narrowly escaped, though she was the cause of the whole disaster, by dropping some inconsiderate words against a company of Indians who lodged in that quarter. This sad catastrophe naturally excited the utmost alarm in the two missionary settlements; and it soon appeared, that their apprehensions were not without foundation. The very next day, about fifty White people assembled on the opposite side of the river, with the view of surprising Nain in the course of the night, and of murdering all the inhabitants. But a person in the neighbourhood having represented to them the difficulty and danger of the enterprize, they were diverted from their purpose for the present, and returned home in peace. On the same day, a party of the Irish freebooters arrived at Wechquetank, with the design of murdering the whole of the Indians; but the missionary, after he had employed reasoning and expostulation in vain, was at last so happy as to pacify them by means of presents, and by giving them plenty to eat and drink. On taking their departure, however, they were heard to say, that if the Indians did not soon quit the place, they would return and destroy them all. During the night, all the men were upon the watch; several spies were discovered lurking about the settlement, and a fire at some distance betrayed a neighbouring encampment. A sudden attack, it was supposed, was intended; but this was prevented, probably by a violent rain which fell during the night. *(o)*

It would now have been the height of temerity to have postponed their flight any longer; and therefore they resolved to abandon a place where they were in such imminent

(o) Loskiel, Part II. p. 207.

danger; especially as the missionary received an express from Bethlehem, with the most pressing solicitations to break up immediately, and to retire with the whole congregation to the Brethren's settlement at Nazareth. Just, however, as they were preparing to depart, several musket shots were heard in the neighbourhood. Alarmed by the report, the Indians, who supposed that the savages had attacked the English, resolved to go to the defence of the White people. The missionary, however, urged them not to quit the place, but merely to repel any attack that might be made upon it; and he exhorted them, at the same time, to stand by each other, and to expect deliverance from God: "Very true," answered one of the converts, "only don't you stand before me, but go behind, for I will be shot first." The party, however, from whom the attack was dreaded, suddenly marched off with the Indian war-whoop; but it afterwards appeared, that it was a band of soldiers who wished to draw the Indians into the field, in order to fight them. Having happily escaped this snare, the whole congregation immediately set off for the Brethren's settlement at Nazareth. It was not, indeed, without extreme regret, that they left so pleasant a place, where they possessed excellent houses and large plantations; especially as they had to leave their harvest, and a great part of their cattle behind them. *(p)*

Meanwhile, the congregation at Nain was in a state of close blockade. The savages continued to lay waste the neighbouring country with fire and sword, and to murder as many inhabitants as fell into their hands. By this means, the White people were so enraged against the Indians in general, that the inhabitants of Nain durst not go even to Bethlehem on business, as the fugitives, who had resorted thither from various quarters, abused, insulted, and maltreated them. Even at home, they had to maintain a strict guard both by night and by day, in order that they might hold their meetings, and that the women might gather in their crops in

(p) Loskiel, Part II. p. 211.

safety. Having made such arrangements, as that the enemy could not attack them without danger, they began to hope, that government would support them with more energy, and thus secure them rest in their own dwellings. These expectations, however, were soon dissipated. A harmless Indian, named Renatus, was unexpectedly seized as the murderer of one of the Irish settlers, and as his person was sworn to by the widow, he was carried to Philadelphia, and committed to prison. The report of this circumstance flew like lightning through the country, and kindled the fury of the White people against the Indians into a violent flame. Their danger now became more urgent than ever; but in this emergency God appeared as their guardian and deliverer. Early in November, an express arrived from Philadelphia, with an order from the chief magistrates, that all the Indians belonging to the two congregations should repair immediately to that city; and that, having first delivered up their arms, they should be protected from their enemies. To the Indians this was a very painful circumstance; but they resolved to resign themselves to the will of God, and to obey the order of government. As soon, therefore, as the sheriff arrived, they delivered up their arms to him with a cheerfulness and composure which strikingly illustrated the influence of the gospel upon their minds, for a Pagan Indian would sooner part with his head than with his gun. They now set forward on their journey; and it was truly an affecting sight, to behold these poor creatures, among whom were many aged, sick, and infirm, besides pregnant women, and young children, travelling patiently along, ignorant of what might be their future destiny. On the road, they suffered much from the malice of the White people, who abused and loaded them with curses, In passing through Germantown, they were not only insulted as usual, but the populace talked of nothing but burning and hanging them, and other similar punishments. *(q)*

(q) Loskiel, Part II. p. 212.

Having at length arrived in Philadelphia, they were ordered to be lodged in the barracks; but the soldiers quartered there, refused them admittance, notwithstanding the positive command of the governor. The poor Indians, by this means, were detained in the streets from ten o'clock in the morning, till three in the afternoon. Here a mob collected around them, who derided, reviled, and charged them with all the horrid outrages committed by the savages, and even threatened to murder them on the spot. The soldiers having peremptorily persisted in refusing them admittance into the barracks, the magistrates at length ordered them to proceed to Province island, about six miles distant in the river Delaware. As they passed through the city, thousands followed them with tumultuous clamour, so that they seemed like sheep in the midst of wolves. At length, they reached the place of their destination, where they were safely lodged in some large buildings, and kindly provided by government with whatever they needed. *(r)*

Soon after their arrival at this place, the settlement at Wechquetank was burnt by the White people; and some incendiaries likewise endeavoured to set fire to Bethlehem. The oil-mill was consumed, and the flames raged with such fury, that it was with great difficulty the adjoining water-works were saved from destruction. Besides committing these outrages on the Brethren's settlements, a party of White people attacked a number of Indians in the small village of Canestoga, near Lancaster, and butchered fourteen of them, though they were perfectly harmless, and had long lived quietly among the English. The rest having fled to Lancaster, the magistrates of that town took them under their protection, and lodged them in the work-house, a strong and secure building. Thither, however, the murderers followed them; They marched into the town at noon day, broke into the work-house, and though the poor

(r) Loskiel, Part II. p. 216.

defenceless Indians begged for life on their knees, the ruffians massacred them all in cold blood, and threw their mangled bodies into the street. They then departed with a diabolical shout of triumph, threatening that the Indians in Province island should soon share a similar fate. *(s)*

Against these outrages, government immediately issued a proclamation, forbidding any one to molest the Indians in Province island, under the severest penalties, and offering a reward of two hundred pounds to any person who should discover the two ringleaders of the party, and bring them to justice. It soon appeared, however, that an incredible number of people, including many of the inhabitants of Philadelphia, were connected with them; none of the conspirators were taken up, though they walked publicly in the streets; and some even stood before the governor's house, and bade him defiance. The rioters became at length so numerous and daring, that many hundreds of them agreed to march to that city, and never to rest till all the Indians taken under the protection of the government were massacred. *(t)*

Apprehensive of the consequences of these villanous combinations, government resolved to send the Christian Indians to the English army, by the way of New-York, and to place them under its protection. In January 1764, the congregation having received an order to this effect, set off on their journey; and on their arrival at Philadelphia, they were provided with waggons for the aged, the sick, the children, and the heavy baggage. On leaving that city, they were accompanied by so great a crowd of people, that they were hardly able to proceed. The mob cursed and reviled them in a dreadful manner; but no one ventured to lay hands on them. In all places, indeed, through which they passed, the populace insulted them; but after about a week's journey, they arrived in safety at Amboy, where two sloops were ready to convey them to New-York.

(s) Loskiel, Part II. p. 217. *(t)* Ibid. Part II. p. 218.

Just, however, as they were ready to embark, a messenger unexpectedly arrived from the governor of New-York, with strict orders that not an Indian should set foot in that province; and even the ferrymen were prohibited, under a severe penalty, from crossing the river with them. *(u)*

Information of this being sent to Philadelphia, the Christian Indians were ordered to return to that city; and on their arrival they were, for their better security, lodged in the barracks, and attended by a military guard by night and day. But as the number and violence of the mob still increased the first guard was not sufficient for their protection; it was therefore doubled, and the magistrates were under the necessity of preparing to repel force by force. By their orders, eight heavy pieces of cannon were planted in front of the barracks, and a rampart was thrown up in the middle of the square. The citizens, including even many of the young Quakers, generously took up arms, and repaired to the barracks to assist the soldiers in defending the Indians. On the following day, intelligence was received of the approach of the conspirators. The whole city was now in an uproar; yet every body prepared to receive them with manly firmness. The eighteen pounders being discharged, the poor Indians, who had never before heard the report of such large cannon, were terribly frightened; the guns, indeed, stood so near the building, that several of the windows were shattered by the explosion. Understanding that such vigorous preparations were made to repel them, the rioters did not venture to enter the city; and accordingly the citizens returned to their homes in peace. Two nights after, however, a report was circulated, that the rebels were again approaching the city. The whole town was now in motion; the church bells were rung, the streets illuminated, and the inhabitants being waked out of their sleep, were summoned to attend at the town-house, where arms and cartridges were distributed among them. Two companies

(u) Loskiel, Part II. p. 219.

of armed citizens repaired to the barracks, and four other cannon were mounted. The following day was spent in hourly expectation of the arrival of the conspirators; but information was at length received, that being dismayed by the preparations made to repel them, they had desisted from the attempt. Some gentlemen were then deputed by government to enquire what complaints they had to make. After behaving in a very insolent manner, they asserted that several of the Indians were murderers whom they had seen at Pittsburgh, and demanded that they should be delivered up. In order to pacify them, one of the ringleaders was invited to enter the barracks, and to point out the culprits. He accordingly came and examined the whole of them; but he did not find an individual whom he could charge with the smallest crime. They then asserted, that the Quakers had conveyed away six of them out of the barracks, and concealed them in some place of safety. But when this allegation was investigated, it also was proved a falsehood; upon which the rioters marched off, and relinquished their design for the present. *(v)*

During the residence of the Indians in the barracks, the missionaries kept up the usual meetings and exercises of the congregation, as far as their peculiar circumstances would allow. They met with them regularly every morning and evening; they administered the Lord's Supper to them at stated intervals; they even opened a school for instructing the youth in the English language. People of all descriptions came to see the Indians; and though this was attended with various inconveniences, yet many who previously were ill-disposed towards them, were, by this means, convinced of their innocence. The public worship of the congregation, especially on the Lord's day, was attended by such crowds of people, that the chapel could not contain them; and it was hoped that to some of them the preaching of the word was not in vain. Meanwhile, the Indians had no care as to

(v) Loskiel, Part II. p. 221.

their temporal support; for the English government generously supplied all their wants; and, indeed, the attention which it uniformly paid to their safety and comfort deserves our warmest enconium. *(w)*

But notwithstanding these circumstances, the Indians considered their present situation as a most severe trial; some of them were even more distressed by it than by all the dangers and hardships which they had hitherto experienced. Their situation, though rendered as agreeable as possible, they viewed as little short of imprisonment, and by degrees their confinement became quite insupportable. As they were no longer at liberty to range and hunt in the forests, a spirit of insubordination sprung up among them, particularly among the young people, some of whom grew melancholy, some dissatisfied, and some even refractory. At the same time, the excellent quality of their victuals was as ill adapted to the state of their stomachs, as the want of exercise was to their bodies, and of freedom to their minds. Besides, as the summer advanced, the small-pox and fever broke out among them, and filled them with such horror and consternation, that many of them meditated their escape from the barracks. These diseases, indeed, cut off nearly sixty of them, many of whom died in the full assurance of glory, honour and immortality beyond the grave. *(x)*

Peace being at length restored, the Indians, to their inexpressible joy, were set at liberty, after a confinement of about sixteen months. In March 1765, they left Philadelphia, and as there was reason to apprehend they could not live in the neighbourhood of the White people without being greatly molested by them, it was agreed that they should settle in the Indian country, on the banks of the river Susquehannah. In their journey thither they had to encounter new and almost incredible difficulties. Though peace was re-established, yet the enmity of many of the White people against the Indians was still so violent, that to

(w) Loskiel. Part II. p. 225. *(x)* Ibid. Part II. p. 226.

avoid danger, they were under the necessity of taking a very tedious and circuitous route. Such parts of their baggage as were not sent by waggons, they had often to carry over high, steep, and rocky hills, in small parcels, by which means they had to travel the same road several times over. In some places they had to cut their way through the woods; in one instance, for no less than five miles together. Through the brooks and rivers the men were obliged to wade; and for the women and children, they had to prepare rafts, a work of considerable difficulty, as the violent currents often carried away the trees they had cut down for this purpose, before they could be fixed together; nay some rivers were so broad and deep, that they were obliged to encamp on their banks, and to build canoes in which to cross them. As for lodging, they had to sleep chiefly in the open woods; and in some instances they were under the necessity of stopping all night in swamps, there being no dry ground near at hand. The greatest difficulty of all, however, was the want of provisions. Hunting was their chief support; but in some places neither game nor fish could be found. When their whole stock of flour was exhausted, it was truly affecting to behold them receive their last portion. They were now glad to find wild potatoes in the woods, though nothing but hunger could have rendered them palatable. To satisfy the children who cried for want, they peeled the chesnut trees, and made them suck the juices under the bark, and even the old people were under the necessity of resorting to the same expedient. As for drink, they had often nothing but the muddy water, found in swampy puddles. One night, they were terribly alarmed by the woods being on fire, and burning most furiously around their encampment, from ten o'clock till one in the morning. But all these trials were forgotten in their daily meetings, in which they experienced the presence of Christ in a most remarkable manner. They usually held them in the evening, round a large fire, in the open air. At length, after a tedious and irksome journey of five weeks, they arrived at the place of

their destination; and as a mariner, after a storm, rejoices to enter the haven, so the Indian congregation, after the many trials and hardships they had of late endured, were happy to reach their new abode, where they hoped to enjoy peace, tranquility, and rest. *(y)*

Having pitched on a convenient spot on the banks of the Susquehannah for a settlement, they here began to build a regular town, which they called Friedenshuetten, or *Tents of Peace.* It was pleasing to see how judiciously the Indians planned, and how diligently they executed, the work of each day. The town, when completed, consisted of thirteen Indian huts, and upwards of forty houses, built of wood, in the European fashion, lighted with windows, covered with shingles, and provided with chimneys. The street was eighty feet broad; and in the middle of it stood the chapel, a neat and spacious building. The ground next the houses was laid out in gardens; and between the settlement and the river, about two hundred and fifty acres were divided into regular plantations of Indian corn. The burying ground was situated at some distance, at the back of the buildings. *(z)*

After the erection of this settlement, great numbers of the Indians came to it from every quarter, and were much delighted with the external appearance of the place. It was, they said, the most beautiful Indian town they had ever beheld. But what was of more importance, many of them were deeply impressed by the gospel, and were filled with serious concern for their souls. Frequently, indeed, the whole assembly was so moved, and the weeping of the congregation was so general, that the missionaries were obliged to stop, and mingle their tears with those of their people. This may not unjustly be viewed as a striking proof of the powerful efficacy of the gospel on their hearts, considering the contempt in which the savage Indians hold a person who, according to them, is so weak as to weep. "Whenever I saw a man shed

(y) Loskiel, Part II. p. 230. *(z)* Ibid. Part III. p. 1.

tears," said one of the converts, "I used to doubt whether he was a man. I would not have wept, though my enemies had cut the flesh from my bones; that I now weep is of God, who has softened the hardness of my heart." Besides the stated seasons for the daily service of the congregation, the missionaries were often called upon, on other occasions, to make known the gospel; for the visitors came into their houses, begging to hear more of "these sweet and comfortable words:" and, indeed, it seemed as if they would never be satisfied, so that frequently the Brethren had scarcely time to eat or to rest. Many of those, also, who, during the troubles of the war, had wandered from the congregation, now returned, and were received with affection and joy. *(a)*

The town, indeed, increased so rapidly, and the number who came to hear the word was so great, that in less than two years, it was necessary to build a larger place of worship. Among these visitors, there were Indians of various tribes, particularly Mohawks, Cajuga, Senekas, Tutelas, Delawares, Mohegans, Wampanose, Nantikoks, and Tuscaroras. Many of these were driven to Friedenshuetten, by a famine which prevailed in the country; others preferred this road, in their way to different parts of the Indian territory, wishing to see a place so renowned for its hospitality. At one time, for instance, seventy-five Tuscaroras from Carolina, and at another, fifty-seven Nantikoks from Maryland, impelled by hunger, came and stopped for several weeks. Some of them were so far impressed by the gospel, that they thanked God for the famine, without which they would never have come to this place, nor heard the good news of salvation. Induced by the hope of being useful to them, the Christian Indians cheerfully fed the hungry, and even connived at the impositions of some, who, abusing their generosity, ate up their provisions, and led an idle profligate life, without ever attending to the word of God. *(b)*

(a) Loskiel, Part III. p. 4, 11, 38. *(b)* Ibid. Part III. p. 18.

For several years, the course of the Indian congregation at this place was of the most pleasing nature. The Christian converts appeared evidently to grow both in knowledge and in grace; many of their Heathen visitors were awakened to a sense of their sin and danger; and even several who had once been robbers and murderers, seemed now to "hunger and thirst after righteousness," and by their simple and unaffected declarations, afforded the missionaries no small satisfaction. The Brethren had likewise much pleasure in the young people, among whom the symptoms of religion were of the most agreeable nature; and for whose use two new and spacious schools were erected in the settlement. Besides, a powerful awakening began in a town about thirty miles up the river; and a missionary was at length settled in that place, and maintained regular meetings for public worship, so that it might be considered as a kind of Chapel of Ease to Friedenshuetten. For some time, indeed, it appeared as if all the Indians in that town and neighbourhood would embrace the gospel. *(c)*

In September, 1767, David Zeisberger set off on a journey to the river Ohio, accompanied by two of the Indian assistants, as he had heard that some of the inhabitants of that part of the country were desirous of hearing the gospel. His design was to visit Goshgoshuenk, though in every town through which he passed, he received the most unfavourable accounts of the people of that place. He was not intimidated, however, by these reports; but proceeded forward in his journey, in the course of which, he and his companions endured the most dreadful hardships. They had often to travel over extensive plains, overgrown with such high grass, that a man on horseback was completely covered by it; and when either dew or rain had fallen, they were completely drenched to the skin. The further, indeed, they proceeded, the more horrid did the wilderness become; yet here had they by day to work a path through the thickets, and at night to sleep in

(c) Loskiel, Part III. p. 36, 51.

the open air, exposed to the cold and all the inclemency of the weather. *(d)*

On their arrival at the first Seneca town, the appearance of a White man was so uncommon in that part of the country, that one of the inhabitants immediately set off on horseback, to announce the news to the chief of the next village, nearly thirty miles distant. When Zeisberger reached that place, the chief at first accosted him in a rough and haughty manner; but he was so conciliated by the mild and gentle behaviour of the missionary, that he conducted him to his own house, and invited him to eat. After dinner, he expressed his astonishment at Zeisberger's having undertaken so long and hazardous a journey, a thing which no White man had ever before attempted. The missionary seized this opportunity of making known the gospel to him; but the chief asserted, with great vehemence, that this word of God was never intended for the Indians. Zeisberger having replied to this and some other objections, the chief, who had first taken him for a spy sent by the White people, now became extremely friendly to him; and, being convinced of the disinterestedness of his views, granted him a permission to proceed on his journey to Goshgoshuenk; but warned him, at the same time, not to trust the inhabitants of that place, as they had not their equal in the whole country, for wickedness and cruelty. To this the missionary replied, that if they really were so bad a people as he represented, they stood so much the more in need of the gospel; but, that at all events, he did not dread them, as they could not injure him in the least, without the permission of God. *(e)*

Having proceeded to that town, Zeisberger soon discovered, that the description he had received of the inhabitants from the Seneka chief, as well as from others on the road, was by no means unfounded. Never, indeed, had he seen the abominations of Paganism practised in so horrid a manner; never had he beheld sin assume so hideous and

(d) Loskiel, Part III. p. 20. *(e)* Ibid. Part III. p. 20.

unblushing a form, as at this place. It seemed to be the seat of Satan's court; it appeared the very centre of his throne. *(f)*

But notwithstanding the wickedness of the place, the whole town were highly pleased with the missionary's visit, owing no doubt to the novelty of the circumstance. Many of the people could never hear enough of the great and fundamental principles of the gospel, that "Christ Jesus came into the world to save sinners;" and as the language, in which the truths of religion were expressed, was partly unintelligible to them, the two Indian assistants were often employed till past mid-night, in repeating and explaining "the great words" uttered by the missionary. *(g)*

Before he left the town, Zeisberger assembled all the men in council, and asked them, Whether they would wish him to repeat the visit? To this they unanimously gave their consent; and accordingly, he returned the following summer, accompanied by two of his Brethren and several of the converts, with the view of establishing a regular mission in this place. On their arrival, they preached every day, and held meetings with the people, morning and evening, for the purpose of instructing them in the principles of the Christian faith. On these occasions, the Indians attended in great numbers; and it was not a little curious to see so many assembled to hear the gospel, with their faces painted black and vermilion, and their heads decorated with clusters of feathers and foxes tails. At first, they heard the word with great attention; but afterwards many of them opposed it with no less violence. Instigated by the chiefs, who became jealous of their own authority, the old women went about publicly complaining, that the Indian corn was blasted, or devoured by the worms; that the deer and other game already retired from the woods; that chesnuts and bilberries would no longer grow in the country, because the White men brought strange things to

(f) Loskiel, Part III. p. 22. *(g)* Ibid. Part III. p. 23.

their ears, and the Indians began to change their manner of life. To appease the wrath of the offended spirits, the sorcerers appointed solemn sacrifices, and offered up hogs by way of atonement. A report was circulated by others, that some New-England Indians had been on the other side of the great ocean, and brought a letter from king George of England to all the Indians in North America, warning them against the Brethren who lived at Bethlehem, or that they would lead them straight to hell. Some of the neighbouring chiefs and tribes likewise sent messages to them, expressing their high displeasure, that they should have allowed White men to settle among them, and urging them either to banish or to kill them without delay. By these means, the whole town was thrown into the utmost confusion. The enemies of the missionaries became daily more violent than ever; and even many of those who expressed the greatest joy at their arrival, were now the most bitter against them, Some openly advised to kill them; and others insisted, that not only the missionaries, but all the Christian Indians should be murdered, and thrown into the Ohio. Two of them even entered into an agreement to assassinate the Brethren; and one evening several disagreeable visitors made their appearance at a late hour, with an intent to murder them; but their hearts failed them, so that they did not carry their design into execution. *(h)*

Notwithstanding these difficulties and dangers, the Brethren, with singular intrepidity, resolved to stand firm by their post. With this view, they built a small winter house at a little distance from the town, where they might have an opportunity of administering the Lord's Supper to their own people, and of holding other meetings with them, and such of the inhabitants of the place as chose to attend. Several, dreading the reproach of men, stayed away, or came only by night to escape observation. Others stood without, to take the word of God, as it were, by stealth. Young

(h) Loskiel, Part III. p. 24, 28.

people were prohibited by their parents from visiting the missionaries; and some parents were prevented by their children. Such as came boldly to the meetings were abused and persecuted by their neighbours, who branded them with the most opprobrious names, as Sunday Indians, Shwonnaks, that is, White people, an appellation which, in the view of an Indian, is the most intolerable in the world. Some were even driven from their houses, and took refuge among the Brethren, by whose intercession, an aged chief, who was extremely friendly to the cause, took them under his protection. Never, in short, were the words of our Saviour more literally fulfilled: "I am come to set a man at variance against his father, and the daughter against her mother, and the daughter-in-law against her mother-in-law; and a man's foes shall be they of his own household." *(i)*

The inhabitants of the town were now divided into two parties, one of which opposed the gospel with the utmost violence, while the other was so much attached to it, as to declare, they would sooner quit the place, and build a town in some other quarter, than be deprived of it. The opposition at length arose to such a pitch, that the Brethren, and such of the people as were friendly to them, retired to a place about fifteen miles distant, on the opposite side of the river. Here they built a new settlement; and the missionaries had soon the pleasure of baptizing several of the Indians, among whom was the aged chief now mentioned, who had lost his sight. A stranger Indian, who was carrying a barrel of rum to Goshgoshuenk for sale, called at this place by the way; and having heard the gospel, was so convinced of his sinfulness and misery, that he resolved to alter his manner of life. He accordingly returned the barrel of rum to the trader at Pittsburgh, declaring that he would neither drink nor sell any more spiritous liquors, for it was against his conscience. He therefore begged him to take it back, adding, that if he refused, he would pour it into the Ohio.

(i) Loskiel, Part III. p. 33.

The trader, as well as the other White people who were present, was amazed, and assured him, that this was the first barrel of rum he had ever seen returned by an Indian; but he, at the same time, took it back, without further objection. Even the inhabitants of Goshgoshuenk at length ceased in their opposition; and the council of that town, convinced of the disinterestedness of the missionaries, begged them to forget all that was past, and even adopted them as members of the Delaware nation, that so, in case of war, they should not be treated as other White people, but be considered as natives of Delaware. *(k)*

Hostilities having commenced between the Seneka and the Cherokee Indians, the Brethren judged it prudent to retire from this part of the country, on account of its vicinity to the seat of war, especially as the number of those who came to hear the gospel increased so rapidly, that they began to be in want of room, and as an offer had lately been made them by some distant chiefs, of land in their neighbourhood. In April 1770, the congregation embarked on the river Ohio in sixteen canoes, and sailed by Pittsburgh to the mouth of the Beaver creek. Having entered this river, they proceeded up the falls, where they had to unload, and transport their goods and canoes by land. After a journey of upwards of a fortnight, they arrived in that part of the country where they intended to take up their residence, and immediately proceeded to build a new settlement, which they called Friedenstadt, or the *Town of Peace. (l)*

The Indians in the neighbouring country were at first astonished to see a people settle among them so different in manners and customs from themselves, and to hear a doctrine so opposite to the views they had been accustomed to entertain. In some, however, this astonishment soon degenerated into opposition, especially after one of the chiefs manifested a decided attachment to the gospel.

(k) Loskiel, Part III p. 35, 42, 53, 59.
(l) Ibid. Part III. p. 55.

They harrassed the Brethren without intermission, by incessantly propagating the most daring falsehoods, and even counterfeiting messages and letters from the chiefs to them. In consequence of a very peremptory message of this kind, said to come from the chief and council of a distant town, demanding, that an Indian woman, who had lately been baptized, should be sent back immediately, and threatening in case of refusal, that she should be carried away by force, Zeisberger, dreading the pernicious consequences of such an order, set off for that place, and, after a tedious journey, reached it in safety. Having requested a meeting of the council, he read the letter to them, when it was discovered, that neither the chief nor the council knew any thing of it; but that one of the counsellors present had written it of his own accord, and signed it with two fictitious names. Being in this manner detected, he was publicly confounded before the whole assembly, who expressed great indignation at his conduct, and agreed, that as the Brethren never detained any in their settlements contrary to their inclination, so none should be compelled to leave them, for the Indians were a free people, at perfect liberty to act in all things agreeably to their own will. Zeisberger having embraced the opportunity of his visit to this town to preach the gospel to the inhabitants, numbers of them heard it with much attention; but many also opposed it with no less violence, in consequence chiefly of the insinuations of some Pagan teachers, who had strenuously recommended the use of emetics, as a speedy and infallible method of cleansing from sin, so that, here, this very singular practice was quite general. In vain, therefore, did the missionary attempt to shew them, that though a vomit may cleanse the stomach, it can never cleanse the soul; and that this could be effected only by the application of the blood of Christ to their guilty consciences. *(m)* *

(m) Loskiel, Part III. p. 57, 69.

* About the middle of the eighteenth century, a considerable change took place in the religious opinions of the

Indeed, Zeisberger, who was now well known among various of the Indian tribes, was a marked object of their

Indians. Some preachers of their own nation then arose, pretending that they had received revelations from heaven; that they had travelled thither, and conversed with God. They gave different accounts of their exploits on the journey; but all agreed in this, that no one could enter heaven without great danger. "The road," said they, "runs close to the gates of hell. There the devil lies in ambush, and snatches at every one who is going to God." Such as passed in safety this dangerous place, came first to the Son of God, and through him to God himself, from whom they pretended that they had received a commandment to teach the Indians the way to heaven. Some of their preachers, however, acknowledged, that they had not reached the dwelling-place of God; but yet they alleged they had approached near enough to hear the cocks crow, and to see the smoke of the chimnies in heaven!

Others of their teachers contradicted this doctrine, and maintained that no one knew the dwelling-place of God, but only that of the good spirits, which was situated above the blue sky. According to them, this formed a kind of partition between the habitation of the good spirits and that of man; and that they pretended that they had found the way to this land over a great rock, upon which the heavens reeled to and fro, with a stupendous noise.

These preachers were contradicted by others, who maintained a different opinion concerning the land of spirits, and the road thither. They appealed to the testimony of two Indians, who, according to them, were dead for several days, and, in the mean while, visited the habitation of the good spirits. On their return to life, they related that it was situated to the south of heaven, and that the bright tract, called the Milky Way, was the road to it. This led to a most glorious city, the inhabitants of which enjoyed every thing that was good in the greatest abundance.

Those teachers, who pretended that they had been with God, delineated two roads upon a deer skin, both leading to heaven, the one for the Indians, the other for the White people. The latter, they said, used to go a great way about, and the road for the Indians was then the shortest; but the White people having now blocked up the path for the Indians, they were obliged to make a long circuit before they arrived in heaven.

malice, and was frequently in danger of his life. One night, some malicious people came to Friedenstadt, and insisted on

To Pagans their system of morals might seem severe, for some of these preachers represented a total cessation from fornication, adultry, murder, and robbery, as an essential condition of their obtaining a place among the good spirits, and a share in their happiness. To this they added, that they must first be thoroughly cleansed from their sins; and they gave their deluded followers emetics, as the most certain and expeditious method of effecting this purification. Some of the Indians, who believed in these absurdities, vomited so often, that their life was endangered by it. They were further exhorted to fast strictly, and to take nothing but physic for many days. Few, indeed, persevered in following so severe a regimen.

Other teachers maintained, that stripes were the most effectual means of taking away sin. They, therefore, advised their hearers to suffer themselves to be beaten with twelve different sticks, from the soles of their feet to their necks, that their sins might pass from them through their stomachs and throat. Even these tormentors had their votaries, though it was evident that the people became no better, but rather worse, by such wretched doctrines.

Various as were the principles of these Indian preachers, yet they all agreed in this, that after death the bad Indians, who disobeyed their precepts, would not be admitted into the place of the good spirits. They would be kept, they said, at some distance, near enough to behold how cheerful and happy the good Indians were, but yet they would not be permitted to approach them; they would have nothing to eat, but poisonous wood and noxious roots; they would be always dying a dreadful death, yet never actually die.

The respect, however, which was shewn to these preachers, lasted only till they were foolish enough to promise their votaries success in hunting, and in all their undertakings; power to walk on water as on dry ground; and abundant harvests from ill sown land. Nothing, indeed, could be more agreeable to the slothful disposition of the Indians than such promises; but when their credulity was followed by starvation, their regard for their teachers vanished, before these deceivers were able to invent new evasions to prevent the ruin of their credit. Loskiel, Part, I. p. 34, 37.

compelling the inhabitants to get drunk; but having failed in the attempt, they threatened to murder first the missionaries, and afterwards the whole congregation, and raised such a hideous uproar in the town, that the Indian sisters fled to the woods, and the Brethren were obliged to keep a strict watch around the dwelling of their teachers. *(n)*

Meanwhile, notwithstanding these and other trials, the congregation at Friedenstadt continued to flourish and increase. The number of hearers was daily augmented, among whom was a man who had lost his scalp in the war, and another who had belonged to a party who murdered the Brethren at the settlement on the Mahony some years before. This man was often so much affected in hearing the word, that he shed floods of tears. The first person who was baptized at this place, was the wife of the blind and aged chief, already mentioned, who formerly opposed his embracing the gospel with the utmost violence, but who now herself submitted to the yoke of the Redeemer. Some of the Indians, who had never before witnessed the administration of baptism, were, on this occasion, struck with surprise and astonishment; and indeed the presence of God seemed to pervade the whole assembly to such a degree, that the missionaries were overcome with joy, and resolved to maintain their post, though it should be at the expence of their life. Among others, a chief named Glikkikan, who, when he first visited the Brethren, came with the express purpose of disputing with them, and confounding them by his arguments, but who for some time had been under serious impressions of religion, now took a decided part with the congregation, notwithstanding the obloquy and danger to which it exposed him. One day, after hearing a discourse, he wept aloud on his way home. The Pagans were amazed to behold such a noted and valiant captain weep in the presence of his old acquaintances; but the Brethren were delighted to see this proof of the power of the gospel, in melting the proud and stubborn heart, even

(n) Loskiel, Part III. p. 71.

of a wild Indian chief. He and another of their captains were at length baptized together, and both of them afterwards proved distinguished ornaments of the Christian name. *(o)*

Meanwhile, the congregation at Friedenhuetten resolved to leave that place, and to retire, at least for the present, to the settlement of Friedenstadt. The Iroquois Indians had secretly sold the land on which their town was built to the English, notwithstanding the grant they had previously made of it to them; the number of European settlers in the neighbourhood was daily increasing, a circumstance which exposed the young people to numerous and powerful temptations; besides, the Senekas, by their mischievous behaviour, occasioned them no small trouble, as the White people were extremely apt to suspect the Christian Indians as accomplices with them in their iniquitous deeds. For these reasons, the Brethren determined to leave the place; but as this subjected them to very considerable loss, and as it could be proved that they were compelled to go away in consequence of the sale of the land to the English, they applied to the governor of Philadelphia for redress, which was afterwards granted them, though not to the whole extent of their loss. *(p)*

In June, 1772, the Indian congregation at Friedenhuetten, consisting of two hundred and forty-one persons, left that place, and set off on their journey, some of them proceeding by land, and a still greater number by water. The toil and trouble attending the emigration of such a number people, with all their goods and cattle, in so wild and woody a country as North America then was, can scarcely be conceived by a person who was not an eye-witness of the journey. Those who went by land had about seventy oxen, and a still greater number of horses to take care of. In the course of the journey they suffered incredible hardships, in working a way for themselves and their beasts, through the woods and

(o) Loskiel, Part III. p. 71, 57, 46, 60, 62.
(p) Ibid. Part III. p. 41, 64, 76.

swamps, where they were directed merely by a small path, which, in some places was scarcely discernible, so that it seemed almost impossible even for a single individual to mark a path and force a passage, the thickets were so close and the woods so immense, one of them being computed to be about sixty miles in length. Through these, indeed, they had often rather to creep than to walk; and in one part of the country, they were obliged to wade no fewer than thirty-six times through the windings of the river Munsy. But notwithstanding the difficulties and hardships of the journey, they kept up their daily worship as regularly as possible; and they had frequently strangers among them, both Indians and White people, who attended on their meetings, a circumstance which served greatly to lighten their toils and sorrows. The party which went by water likewise met with no inconsiderable difficulties. Soon after their departure, the measles broke out among them, and many fell sick, especially the children, a circumstance which augmented not a little the fatigue of the journey. Every night they were obliged to seek a lodging on shore, and suffered much from the severity of the cold. In some places they were molested by inquisitive, in others by drunken people; and the many falls and dangerous currents in the river Susquehannah, occasioned them inconceivable difficulties and frequent delays. The two parties having at length met, they united together, and proceeded the rest of the way by land. In crossing the mountains, they had great difficulties to encounter; for as they had not horses enough to carry all their baggage, most of them were obliged to take part of it on their backs, or in their hands. They were also in continual alarm on account of the rattle-snakes, which were very numerous during a considerable part of the journey. Ettwein, one of the Brethren who accompanied them, happening to tread on one of these creatures, was so frightened that he durst hardly venture to step forward, for many days after; every rustling of a leaf made him dread the approach of a snake. But the greatest plague both to man and beast, especially in

passing through the woods, was an insect called by the Indians Pink, or *Living ashes*, from its being so small that it was scarcely visible, and its bite like the burning of red hot ashes. As soon as the evening fires were kindled, the the cattle, in order to get rid of these troublesome creatures, ran furiously towards them, crowding into the smoke, and thus greatly annoyed the people, both in their sleep and at their meals. Besides our travellers were sometimes under the necessity of stopping a day or two in one place, to supply themselves with the necessaries of life. In the course of the journey, they shot upwards of a hundred and fifty deer, and caught great quantities of fish in the brooks and rivers. At length, after a tedious and irksome journey of eight weeks, they arrived at Friedenstadt, and met with a most affectionate reception from the whole congregation in that town. *(q)*

When the Indians of Friedenhuetten came to this place, it was not with the view of settling in it. Both the congregations, indeed, had lately received a kind invitation from the chief and council of a town on the river Muskingum, to come and reside in that part of the country on whatever tract of land they might think proper. Zeisberger, accordingly, had undertaken a journey thither, in order to fix on a suitable spot for a settlement. Here he pitched on a place about seventy miles to the southward of lake Erie, with an excellent spring, a small lake, good planting grounds, plenty of game, and various other conveniences for an Indian town; and, on requesting a grant of this tract of land from the council to the congregation, he not only learned with pleasure that this was the very spot which the chiefs had destined for them, but they likewise, in a solemn manner, granted them all the lands within certain bounds, including a very considerable territory; they determined that no other Indians should settle upon them; and they directed that all Indians dwelling on the borders of that

(q) Loskiel, Part III. p. 77.

district should behave peaceably to the missionaries and their people, that they should neither disturb their worship, nor hinder their countrymen from going to hear the gospel. Zeisberger, accordingly, returned to this quarter soon after with five families, consisting of twenty-eight persons, and began to erect a new town, which he called Shoenbrunn, or *the Beautiful Spring*. Not long after, a great part of the Indian congregation removed from Friedenstadt to the Muskingum, and built a settlement about ten miles below that place, and called it Gnadenhuetten. *(r)*

Meanwhile, the situation of the congregation at Friedenstadt became more alarming than ever. The daily encroachments of their Indian neighbours occasioned them extreme perplexity, and the pernicious consequences of the rum trade were altogether unsupportable. Sometimes the savages brought a great quantity of spirits close to the town, and there they drank, and danced, and raved like so many maniacs. After getting intoxicated, they frequently entered the settlement, rambled through the town, and broke every window that happened to be open, so that the inhabitants were at last under the necessity of fastening their shutters, and burning candles even by day. Nothing, indeed, but the Providence of God preserved the settlement from destruction. In several instances, when they entered the town, intent on mischief, they quarrelled among themselves, and instead of injuring the missionaries, or the Christian Indians, they attacked and mangled one another with their knives in the most brutal manner. Some, however, burst open the doors of several houses, and rushed forward, brandishing their arms, and threatening to murder every one of the family. These outrages rose at length to such a pitch, that the Christian Indians, much against their inclination, were under the necessity of seizing several of the rioters, and keeping them bound till they became sober, lest they should proceed to still greater excesses. One day, a savage

(r) Loskiel, Part III. p. 73, 82.

came running into the settlement, exclaiming, he would kill the White man. Having proceeded at full speed to the house of the missionary, he burst open the door, and entered the room with all the fury of a wild beast. The missionary's wife being extremely terrified, snatched up her child, and instantly fled; but the missionary himself, who was confined by sickness, sat up in bed, and looked at him with the utmost composure. Disconcerted by this, the wretch suddenly stopped short, and the Indian Brethren hastening to the assistance of their teacher, seized and bound him with ease. These circumstances, however, were so extremely troublesome, that the remainder of the congregation removed, in the spring of 1773, from this disagreeable neighbourhood, and proceeded to join their friends on the banks of the Muskingum. *(s)*

Meanwhile, the congregation in that quarter was not without its vicissitudes and trials. Not only did the petty wars of the Indians still continue, but hostilities, at length, commenced between some of them and the inhabitants of Virginia, which created such trouble and confusion throughout the whole country, that for a considerable time neither of the Brethren's settlements enjoyed almost a single day of rest; and, in consequence of the rage of the savages against the White people, the missionaries, in particular, were often in danger of their life. Numerous troops of warriors marched through the settlements, some upon murdering expeditions, others returning with scalps and prisoners, uttering frequent and dreadful threatenings that both places should soon be surprised and burnt to the ground. Reports were perpetually flying through the country, that the enemy were actually on their way to destroy the town, and to murder the inhabitants. Canoes were always kept in readiness for any sudden emergency, as the congregation were frequently so terrified, even in the night, by frightful rumours, that all were on the point of taking flight; the women were

(s) Loskiel, Part III p. 87.

repeatedly driven from their plantations at noon-day; and all the people were confined to their habitations for days and even weeks together, as several parties appeared in the neighbourhood, with the view of seizing on stragglers. When the Virginians first flew to arms, they had no authority from those in power; but government was at length obliged to interfere in the quarrel, and to march troops into the field; and as the Indians were completely defeated, peace was soon re-established. *(t)*

In the midst of these external trials, the settlements of the Brethren were not only preserved in safety, but enjoyed internal prosperity. The chapel at Shoenbrunn, though it held about five hundred people, became too small for the number of hearers. Multitudes of strangers visited the settlement, and heard the gospel; many of the warriors were impressed by the word, and several even of the chiefs were at length baptized. About this time, a man who was sent away from Gnadenhuetten on account of his ill behaviour, was so exasperated at his expulsion, that having painted himself all over black, he entered the house of Schmick the missionary, armed with a large knife, and intent on revenge. Not finding him at home, he came away, and having soon recollected himself, acknowledged his guilt and his unhappy condition. He now earnestly begged to be re-admitted into the congregation, and it was not long before Schmick had the pleasure of baptizing his intended murderer. Another Indian, who had been appointed successor to a neighbouring chief, declined the offer, choosing rather to embrace Christianity than obtain that honour. The observations which some of them made were often remarkably pleasing, and the similes they employed peculiarly striking; "When my wife," said a stranger, "was to be delivered of her first born, I was impatient to see the child. When I saw it, I thought, "This child has God made." Indeed, I loved it so much that I could not forbear looking at it continually.

(t) Loskiel, Part III. p. 89, 93, 96.

Soon after, however, the child died, and I mourned over it to such a degree, that nothing would comfort me. I had no rest night nor day; my child was always in my thoughts, for my very heart cleaved to it. At last I could bear the house no longer, but ran into the woods, and almost lost my senses. The Indians then advised me to take an emetic, to get rid of my sorrow. I did so; but my love for the child, and my sorrow for its loss, were not diminished, and I returned to the woods. From this," added he, "I conclude that those who love God are disposed towards him, as I was towards the child I so dearly loved; they can never forget him, nor find rest or pleasure in any thing else." Another of their visitors expressed his surprise that he was required to pay nothing for the missionary's sermons: "I have been here," said he, "three days, and have heard many excellent words without paying any wampum. It is not so among the Indians. When you want to learn any thing from the old and wise men, you must first give them strings and belts of wampum, otherwise they will not instruct you." *(u)*

During the war, there was such a striking contrast between the conduct of the Christian and the Pagan Indians, even with regard to circumstances of an external nature, as places, in a striking and interesting light, the beneficial influence of the gospel, in ameliorating the temper, views, and manners of the wildest and most uncultivated savages. The former, notwithstanding the frequent interruptions to which they were exposed, laboured with diligence at their usual avocations, sowing their fields, planting their gardens, boiling sugar, &c.; while the latter neglected work of every kind, and would, at length, have been reduced to starvation, had not their Christian countrymen generously relieved their wants as long as it was in their power. Indeed, they not only supplied the needy, but provided many of the warriors who marched through their settlements with food and other

(u) Loskiel, Part III. p. 104, 97, 99, 108, 106.

necessaries, a circumstance which not only surprised the Pagan Indians, but had a happy effect in lessening their prejudices against their Christian countrymen. "I have found," said a captain on one of these occasions "I have found your people to be very different from what I heard of them in our towns. There, it is said, that when a strange Indian comes to you, he is sent to make his fire in the wood, and can get nothing to eat; but it is false, for we have all been fed and lodged by you. In the neighbouring town, the inhabitants made wry faces at us; but here all the men, women, and even the children, made us welcome." Such was the success with which the Brethren had infused their own mild benevolent spirit into the Indians under their care. *(o)*

Indeed, the Indians who had originally invited the Brethren into this part of the country, were now so much impressed in their favour, that they not only ratified their former, acts, but sent an embassy to them, requesting that a third settlement might be established in their neighbourhood. Their address on this occasion was to the following effect: "Brothers and friends! You told us, upon your arrival, that you intended to build two or three towns for the believing Indians. Two are erected, and we perceive that they are already filled with inhabitants. We, therefore, having long ago resolved to receive the gospel, have thought, upon mature deliberation, that it is now time to build the third town, that those of our people who believe may have a place of refuge. We, therefore, desire you to begin as soon as possible. We wish particularly to see our children instructed in reading the Holy Scriptures, that they may never forget them. Our eyes look towards you, for we are not able to accomplish it ourselves." Encouraged by this message, the Brethren proceeded to form a new missionary station, which they called Lichtenau, and they had soon the satisfaction to find that a better situation could not have been chosen for the purpose. In the neighbouring town, and in

(o) Loskiel, Part III. p. 98.

other places, many of the Indians became concerned about their souls; and as all who appeared truly in earnest were permitted to reside in the settlement, it was not long before it increased both in numbers and extent. *(w)*

At the end of 1776, the Christian Indians amounted to four hundred and fourteen persons, who now resided in three different settlements, at no great distance from each other, and promoted one anothers comfort and edification by the mutual intercourse which subsisted between them. About this time the Delaware Spelling-book and Grammar, compiled by David Zeisberger, and printed at Philadelphia, was introduced into the schools, and afforded great pleasure to the young people. Besides this work, it is proper to mention that the missionaries translated various passages of Scripture, and a number of hymns, both into the Mohegan, and Delaware languages, which were in constant use in the congregation. *(x)*

But while the mission was, in this manner, extending its boundaries, its progress was suddenly checked by the war which had now commenced between Great Britain and the Colonies. The dispute had now risen so high, that the disturbances occasioned by it reached even to the Ohio and the Muskingum. The Brethren were placed in extremely embarrassing circumstances; and though they determined to take no part in the war, yet it was next to impossible to act with such circumspection as to offend neither the English nor the Americans, nor the several tribes of Indians who sided with the one or the other party. They perceived, indeed, that they would be placed, as it were, between three fires; that each of the belligerent powers would be dissatisfied with their neutrality, and that they would all view them with suspicion and disgust. *(y)*

The Brethren, agreeably to the resolution they had taken, cautiously avoided interfering with the messages which the

(w) Loskiel, Part III. p. 102, 110.
(x) Ibid. Part I. p. 22; Part II. p. 154; Part III. p. 88.
(y) Ibid. Part III. p. 109, 113, 116.

Delawares sent, either to the English, the Americans, or the neighbouring tribes, or with any thing relative to political affairs. There was one thing, however, which was very perplexing to them. The Delaware chiefs occasionally received letters from Pittsburgh and other places; and as they could not read them, they generally applied to the missionaries to know their contents, and sometimes desired them to answer them in the name of the chiefs. To have refused their request, would not only have been ungrateful but dangerous; yet, innocent as their compliance was, the Brethren, anxiously wished to have been excused this office, as they were afraid that people, who knew not the nature of the business, might suspect that they themselves were carrying on a correspondence with one of the belligerent powers. *(z)*

While several of the Indian tribes joined either with the English or the Americans, and committed the most shocking outrages on their enemies, the chiefs of the Delaware nation determined to maintain a strict neutrality, both with the White people and their own countrymen. The Monsys, indeed, one of the Delaware tribes, secretly resolved to separate from the body of the nation, and to join the Mingoes, a gang of thieves and murderers. Before, however, they avowed their design, they endeavoured to form a party among the enemies of the mission; and they even ventured into the settlements, and sought to decoy some of the congregation to join them, a measure in which, alas! they were too successful. In the midst of Shoenbrunn, they found a party of apostates who seemed determined to relinquish Christianity, and to replace Paganism upon the throne. So severe a trial, the Brethren had never before experienced; in comparison of this, all their past difficulties and hardships were light and trivial. To recover the backsliders, they spared no labours or pains, employing every mean which reason could suggest, or love could dictate. The attempt, however, was vain. It even appeared that the Monsys and

(z) Loskiel, Part III.

the apostate party had nothing less in view, than either to murder the missionaries, or to convey them to fort Detroit, as it was supposed that it was through their influence the Delaware chiefs were so firm in maintaining peace. The Brethren, therefore, resolved to continue no longer in so dangerous a situation, where the faithful part of the congregation were exposed to the worst of all contagions; and accordingly they retired with their people, in the spring, to the other two settlements. *(a)*

In August 1777, the Brethren received information that two hundred Huron warriors, under a chief called half-king, were on their march to the settlement of Lichtenau. This intelligence created them, at first, no small alarm; but after mature deliberation, they resolved to shew no symptoms of apprehension or fear, but rather to gain the savages by hospitality and kindness. They accordingly lost no time in killing oxen and pigs, and preparing other kinds of provisions for them; and it may be remarked to the honour of the Christian Indians, that their liberality on this occasion was truly remarkable, for they considered it as the only means of saving their beloved teachers. The warriors, on their arrival at the neighbouring town, were no less pleased than surprised at meeting a number of the congregation from Lichtenau with provisions for them; and as this put them in good humour, an embassy was sent to the half-king, and the other chiefs of the Hurons, when the Christian Indian, Glikikan, addressed them in the following manner: *(b)*

"Uncle! We, your cousins,* the congregation of believing Indians at Lichtenau and Gnadenhuetten, rejoice at this opportunity to see and to speak with you. We cleanse your eyes from all the dust, and whatever the wind may have

(a) Loskiel, Part III. p. 118, 119.

(b) Ibid. Part III. p. 123.

* The several tribes of Indians consider themselves as standing in certain relations to each other, as grandfathers, uncles, brothers, &c.

carried into them, that you may see your cousin with clear eyes and a serene countenance. We cleanse your ears and hearts from all evil reports, which an evil wind may have conveyed into them on the journey, that our words may find entrance into your ears, and a place in your hearts." Here he delivered a string of wampum, and then proceeded: "Uncle, hear the words of the believing Indians, your cousins, at Lichtenau and Gnadenhuetten. We wish you to know that we have received and believed the word of God for upwards of thirty years, and meet daily to hear it, morning and evening. You must also know that we have our teachers dwelling amongst us, who instruct us and our children. By this word of God preached unto us by our teachers, we are taught to keep peace with all men, and to consider them as friends; for thus God has commanded us, and therefore we are lovers of peace. These, our teachers, are not only our friends; but we consider and love them as our flesh and blood. Now, as we are your cousin, we most earnestly beg of you, uncle, that you also would consider them as your own body, and as your cousin. We and they make but one body, and therefore cannot be separated; and whatever you do unto them, you do unto us, whether it be good or evil." *(c)* Here he delivered a second string of wampum, several fathoms in length, when the half-king of the Hurons replied, that these words had penetrated his heart, and that he would immediately consult with his warriors concerning them. Having done this, he returned the following answer to the deputies:

Cousins! I am very glad and feel great satisfaction, that you have cleansed my eyes, ears, and heart from all evil, conveyed into me by the wind on this journey. I am upon an expedition of an unusual kind; for I am a warrior, and am going to war; and therefore many evil things and evil thoughts enter into my head, and even into my heart. But thanks to my cousin, my eyes are now clear, so that I

(c) Loskiel, Part III. p. 123.

can behold him with a serene countenance. I rejoice that I can hear my cousins with open ears, and take their words to heart." Having here delivered a string of wampum, and repeated all the words of the deputies relative to the missionaries, he expressed his approbation of them, and then added, "Go on as hitherto, and suffer no one to molest you. Obey your teachers, who speak nothing but good unto you, and instruct you in the ways of God, and be not afraid that any harm shall be done unto them. No creature shall hurt them. Attend to your worship, and never mind other affairs. Indeed, you see us going to war; but you may remain quiet and easy." *(d)*

During these negotiations, the Brethren at Lichtenau were under strong apprehensions respecting the event of this embassy. It had, indeed, been agreed, that should the half-king speak in a rough and angry tone, the deputies should instantly send a messenger at full speed to that place, that so the congregation might have an opportunity of taking flight before he concluded his speech. As their apprehensions were so strong, their joy was proportionally the greater, when the negotiation took so favourable a turn. Every heart was filled with gratitude and praise to God, who had so graciously heard the numberless prayers which were presented to him at this critical juncture. *(e)*

The half-king and his warriors came the same day to Lichtenau, and behaved in a very peaceable friendly manner. He was joined by a great number of other savages, Hurons, Iroquois, Ottaways, Chippeways, Shawanose, Wampanose, Pitawontakas, and some Frenchmen; but yet he maintained good order, and would allow of no extravagance among them. He was particularly careful to prevent all drunkenness, knowing that it would soon be followed by murder and bloodshed, and other evils. Sometimes two hundred of the warriors lay all night in the neighbourhood of Lichtenau; and though they behaved with wonderful

(d) Loskiel, Part III. p. 124. *(e)* Ibid. III. p. 125.

quietness, considering they were savages, yet the maintenance of such a number of people, many of whom came dancing before the houses, asking for bread and tobacco, proved at last extremely troublesome; and therefore, the inhabitants were happy when they took their departure, especially as so much rum had lately been imported from Pittsburgh into that part of the country, that the whole neighbourhood became one scene of drunkenness and riot. *(f)*

The dangers to which the missionaries in particular were now exposed, were so numerous and so great, that it was judged expedient that most of them should leave the Indian country for the present, and retire to Bethlehem. Two only remained behind, Zeisberger at Lichtenau, and Edwards at Gnadenhuetten, places twenty miles distant from each other. They, however, paid mutual visits to one another, participating most cordially in each others joys and sorrows; and though they saw nothing before them but troubles, and hardships, and dangers, they determined to remain with their beloved Indian congregation, even though it should cost the sacrifice of their life. *(g)* Both they and their people, indeed, were kept in continual alarm, by the rumours which were daily circulated through the country.

One day, they heard that an American general had arrived at Pittsburgh, who would give no quarter to the Indians, whether friends or foes, being resolved to root them all out of the country; and it was said, that several plans were formed for destroying Lichtenau and Gnadenhuetten, and other Delaware towns. One rumour after another proclaimed the approach of the Americans; and as the Christian Indians were resolved to take no part in the war, they had no other resource, but to prepare for flight. A spot of ground on the banks of a neighbouring river was accordingly pitched on, as a place of rendezvous for the two congregations; and every family packed up their goods, to be ready to fly on

(f) Loskiel, Part III. p. 125, 127.
(g) Ibid. Part III. p. 123, 126.

the first emergency. One night, an express arrived at both the settlements, with an account of the approach of the enemy. The two congregations immediately fled with their teachers in canoes; and, indeed, it was with such precipitation, that they left the greater part of their goods behind them. They met at the place appointed, and there encamped, expecting every hour to hear of a bloody engagement in the neighbourhood of Lichtenau. Happily, however, before day-break, they received intelligence, that what had been taken for an American army, was nothing more than a great number of horses in the woods. Soon after, indeed, a troop of American freebooters set off, contrary to the express orders of the governor of Pittsburgh, to destroy the Delaware towns, and of course the missionary settlements among the rest; but being met by the half-king of the Hurons and his warriors, they were entirely defeated, and the greater part of them slain. *(h)*

The Hurons, who were in the interest of England, continued hostilities against the Americans; and the most dismal accounts were received from time to time of the ravages and murders committed by them and other Indians in the plantations of the White settlers; by whom also similar cruelties were exercised on them in return. The missionaries and their people were often shocked to behold the savage warriors, on their return from their murderous expeditions, leading captive men, women, and children; or what was still more distressing, carrying their dead bodies and scalps through the town. The Christian Indians shewed great compassion to the unfortunate prisoners, supplied them with food, and would never suffer them to be scourged or abused in any form in the settlement, as is the Indian custom, whenever warriors pass through a town with captives. The savages were often mightily incensed at this compassionate prohibition, yet nevertheless they had to obey. Among the prisoners, there was an old man of a

(h) Loskiel, Part III. p. 127.

venerable appearance, together with two youths. The Christian Indians greatly commiserated his situation, and offered a large sum to the warriors for his ransom, but it was all in vain. When the savages arrived in their own town, the two youths were tortured and burnt alive, according to the usual manner in which the Indians treat their unfortunate prisoners. The old man was condemned to a similar fate; but being informed of this by a child, he contrived to make his escape, and fled into the woods. The savages pursued him; but happily he eluded their search, and reached the neighbourhood of Lichtenau in safety. He was able, however, to proceed no further, as he was quite exhausted with fatigue and hunger, having eaten nothing but grass for ten days. Here one of the Christian Indians found him, lying in the woods more like a corpse than a living creature. Being brought, though with much difficulty, to the settlement, the poor man was there taken care of, and after his recovery, was conveyed in safety to Pittsburgh *(i)*

During this period, indeed, many troops of warriors were prevailed on by the friendly persuasions of the Christian Indians to relinquish their murderous designs, and to return to their homes, by which means much bloodshed was happily prevented. By the influence of the missionaries and the congregation, the Delaware chiefs were confirmed in their resolution to take no part in the war, notwithstanding the threats as well as entreaties of the governor of Detroit; and by the neutrality of the Delawares, many other Indian tribes were kept at peace, being unwilling to offend that powerful nation, which they called their grandfather. The government at Pittsburgh acknowledged the deportment of the Indian congregation to be a benefit to the whole country; and colonel Morgan observed, with gratitude, that the fury of the Indian warriors, was, upon the whole, greatly mitigated by the influence of their Christian countrymen. *(k)*

(i) Loskiel, Part III. p. 182. *(k)* Ibid. Part III. p. 183.

At length, however, the Delaware Indians, seduced by the arts of the English, took up arms against the colonies. Now they not only ceased to be the friends of the missionaries and the congregation, but, by degrees, they became their enemies, considering them as a check on their behaviour, and a hinderance to the accomplishment of their designs. As the Indians in league with England had resolved, in a council held at Detroit, that the hatchet should fall on the head of every one who refused to accept of it, and as those in the interest of the colonies had taken a similar resolution, the Christian Indians were now placed between two cruel and inexorable enemies, so that there seemed nothing before them, but inevitable destruction. Agreeably to their late resolution, the Delaware chiefs sent messages to the young men to take up arms; but as they refused to do it, the missionaries were in the utmost danger, the refusal being ascribed solely to their influence and authority. The savages threatened either to kill the Brethren, or to carry them off prisoners, hoping that if they were removed, the Indian congregation would be forced to comply with all their demands. Many were the remarkable escapes which the missionaries made from the dangers which menaced them. In the summer of 1778, they learned that the governor of Detroit intended to send a party of English and Indian warriors to carry them off; but afterwards they heard that the design was frustrated, by the sudden death of the captain appointed to command the expedition, whose place could not immediately be supplied. During the following summer, their danger was still more imminent; there seemed, indeed, no possibility of their escaping. An army, consisting of English and Indian troops, marching from Detroit to fort Lawrence, had already arrived at Tuskarawi, on this side of the Huron towns, and the commanding officer intended to come to the Brethren's settlements, and to carry the missionaries off prisoners. Suddenly, however, the news of the attack by the Americans, on the Indian country, induced all the Indian warriors to forsake him, so

that he was under the necessity of returning without executing his purpose. A troop of robbers and murderers of the Mingo tribe, headed by a White man, had expressed a hope that they would be fortunate enough to carry one or all of the missionaries captive to Detroit. Zeisberger had timely notice of this, but being so much accustomed to threatenings of this kind, he did not regard it, and went about in his usual manner. One day, however, as he was on a journey, he was met by this very band of ruffians, and as soon as the White man saw him, he called to his companions: "Behold, here is the man you have long wished to see!" The captain of the Mingoes made no reply, but only shook his head; and after asking a few questions, they all walked off. Such was the gracious care of God over his servants; it seemed as if he had given charge concerning them, saying, "Touch not mine anointed, and do my prophets no harm." The English, indeed, acknowledged that the missionaries had done no evil, and that they were even useful in civilizing the Indians; but yet they wished to make them prisoners, being persuaded that if they were removed, not only the Delawares, but many other tribes, would take up the hatchet and join their troops. *(l)*

In consequence of the confusion and anarchy which prevailed throughout the whole country, considerable changes had taken place in the settlements of the Brethren. Not only was Shoenbrunn deserted by the faithful part of the congregation, but it was afterwards judged necessary to leave Gnadenhuetten also, and to concentrate the whole mission in Lichtenau. As this place, however, was soon over-crowded with inhabitants, it was agreed that part of them should return to Gnadenhuetten, and that Shoenbrunn should be rebuilt, though not on the same spot as before, but on the opposite side of the river. Lichtenau, which had hitherto been the safest place of residence for the Christian Indians, became so exposed to the outrages of the savages, that it was

(l) Loskiel, Part III. p. 134.

necessary, in 1780, to leave it also, and to build a new settlement, which they called Salem, about five miles below Gnadenhuetten. *(m)*

In the midst of these external trials, the internal state of the congregation was of the most pleasing nature. The progress of vital religion among them was so apparent, that the missionaries forgot all their sorrows in the joy which this afforded them. Notwithstanding the disturbances occasioned by the daily marching of the warriors through their settlements, the congregation never lost their confidence in God, but were led by these various trials to cleave more closely to him, and to unite more cordially in the bonds of brotherly affection. It was also peculiarly pleasing to observe the spirit of forgiveness which they manifested towards their enemies, particularly to the apostates in the congregation of Shoenbrunn. Notwithstanding the hatred and malice which these unhappy people manifested toward them, yet they would never consider them as enemies, but as brethren who had wandered from the paths of religion and peace. Nor were their prayers in behalf of them in vain. Most of the wanderers, especially the young people, returned like the prodigal son, acknowledged their guilt, and earnestly begged for admission into the bosom of the congregation. Their request was granted in the presence of the whole assembly, whose tears of compassion, gratitude, and joy, on such occasions, furnished an interesting example of that brotherly love, which characterises and enobles the followers of Christ. *(n)*

For some time, the Christian Indians enjoyed peace and rest in their new settlements, scarcely seeing any thing of the horrors of war, except that the warriors occasionally passed through their towns. But this period of tranquillity was of short duration. Colonel De Peyster, the English governor of fort Detroit, having taken up a suspicion that the Christian Indians were partizans of the Americans, and that the mission-

(m) Loskiel, Part III. p. 133, 137.

(n) Ibid. Part III. p. 129, 139, 145.

aries were spies who carried on a secret correspondence with them, determined at last to rid himself of neighbours whom he considered as so troublesome and dangerous. With this view, a proposal was made to several of the Indian tribes to carry off the missionaries and the congregation, but the service was so invidious, that each of them declined it. At length, however, the half-king of the Hurons, instigated by captain Pipe, one of the Delaware chiefs, and a violent enemy of the mission, agreed to make the attempt, though even he declared that he did it to save the Christian Indians from destruction. With this design, he came to the neighbourhood of the Brethren's settlements in August, 1781, accompanied by an English officer, Pipe the Delaware chief, and upwards of three hundred warriors. They all behaved, at first, in a friendly manner; but when they made known their commission, the congregation expressed their resolution to remain where they were. The warriors, therefore, endeavoured to decoy them, by describing the country to which they proposed to carry them as a perfect paradise, and unfortunately they were too successful in making an impression on the minds of some who were unacquainted with their artifice and cunning. This occasioned the Brethren great perplexity and distress, but yet they determined not to follow the savages unless by compulsion, that so if the congregation was involved in ruin, they might not have to reproach themselves on account of it. *(o)*

The half-king of the Hurons, it is probable, would not have urged the proposal further, had he not been pressed by captain Pipe and the English officer to employ coercive and even violent measures, alleging, that if he returned to Detroit without the missionaries, the governor would be highly dissatisfied. Besides some of the congregation proved unfaithful, and even insinuated to the savages, that if they only seized upon the Brethren and carried them off, the rest of the people would quickly follow. Others, again, were so

(o) Loskiel, Part III. p. 149.

simple, that when asked, Whether they would go with the half-king? they replied: "We look to our teachers; what they do, we will do likewise." Thus the whole blame fell upon the missionaries, who, in consequence of this, became the chief object of the resentment of the savages. The heads of the party had several consultations, in which, as some of them afterwards related, they resolved to murder all the White Brethren and Sisters, and likewise the Indian assistants. Before, however, they carried their bloody design into execution, they wished to know the opinion of a common warrior, who was much esteemed among them as a sorcerer; and as he was decidedly against the proposal, and even threatened them with his displeasure if they persisted in it, they laid aside the design for the present. *(p)*

The savages, however, now became more bold and outrageous in their behaviour than before. Though they were supplied by the congregation with as much meat as they could eat, and nothing in fact was denied them, yet they wantonly shot the cattle and pigs on the road, and would not even suffer the carcases to be taken away, so that the place was soon filled with an unsupportable stench. Small parties of them likewise made inroads into the neighbouring country, and brought their prisoners to Gnadenhuetten, thus making that seat of industry and peace a theatre of pillage and war. *(q)*

The missionaries and the Indian assistants being summoned before a council of war, the half-king of the Hurons asked them, Whether they would go with him or not, and insisted on their giving him an immediate answer, without even allowing them to retire and consult about it. But as the Brethren appealed to the reply they had already made, and declared their design to abide by it, the assembly broke up without further debate. Immediately after, however, they were seized by a party of Huron warriors, and declared prisoners. As the savages dragged them off into the camp,

(p) Loskiel, Part III. p. 153. *(q)* Ibid. Part III. p. 154.

one of the Hurons aimed a stroke at the head of Senseman the missionary, with a weapon resembling a lance, but providentially he missed it. Upon this a Monsy Indian approached them, and seizing them by the hair of the head, shook them saying: "Welcome among us, my friends!" They then led them into the camp of the Delawares, where they sung over them the death song, stript them naked to their shirts, and at length secured them in two huts. Here the Brethren had to sit on the bare ground, without clothes, without blankets, without any thing to screen them from the cold at night, except a few rags. They were not bound, however, like other prisoners, but only carefully watched. *(r)*

After they were secured in the huts, they saw a number of armed warriors march off for Salem and Shoenbrunn, and the dread of what their families might suffer from these barbarians was a greater distress to them than all they themselves had endured. On their arrival, the savages, after plundering the mission houses in both the settlements, brought away such of the missionaries as remained, together with all their wives and children, as prisoners of war, and on the road they sung over them the death song. Michael Jung, one of the Brethren, narrowly escaped being killed by a tomahawk, which an Indian aimed at his head. But no one was more to be pitied than Mrs. Senseman. She had been delivered of a child only three days before, yet now she was hurried from home with her infant at her breast, by these merciless barbarians, in a dark and rainy night. Happily, however, neither she nor the child suffered the smallest injury. Indeed, it was a providential circumstance that she was able to walk; for had she been too weak to follow them, it is probable they would instantly have murdered both her and the infant, agreeable to their usual practice on such occasions. When the Brethren Zeisberger and Senseman beheld their wives led captive by the savages, it is neither possible to conceive nor describe

(r) Loskiel, Part III. p. 155.

the tumultuous agonizing sensations which arose in their breasts. *(s)*

On the following day, the prisoners obtained permission to visit each other. On this occasion, a scene was exhibited so tender and melting, that even the merciless savages seemed struck with astonishment, remorse, and sorrow. The Sisters, who, under their trials, behaved with wonderful composure and resignation, were soon set at liberty, together with one of the missionaries; but as their habitations were almost destroyed, they went to lodge in the house of another of the Brethren, named Shebosh, who had not been taken prisoner, being considered as an Indian, as he had completely adopted the Indian mode of life, and married a native woman. Here the prisoners were occasionally allowed to see their friends, and they also had liberty to visit them in return. Meanwhile, the savages were strutting about in the clothes they had taken from the missionaries, and even compelled their wives to make them shirts of the linen of which they had robbed them. *(t)*

At the commencement of these disasters, the conduct of the Christian Indians was like that of the disciples of Christ; they forsook their teachers and fled. On arriving, however, in the woods, they lifted up their voices and wept so loud, that the air resounded with their lamentations. They soon, indeed, recovered from the panic which had seized them on the first appearance of danger. Having collected their courage, they returned and recovered many articles belonging to the missionaries out of the hands of the robbers, or they generously paid for them, in order to restore them to the rightful owners. They likewise used to carry blankets to the prisoners late in the evening, to cover them during the night, and early in the morning they brought them away, lest they should be stolen by the savages in the course of the day. Some even had the courage to enter the camp

(s) Loskiel, Part III. p. 156.
(t) Ibid. Part III. 158.

by day, to seize the booty of the savages, and to carry it off by main force. *(u)*

After keeping the Brethren prisoners for several days, the leaders of the savages perceived that the Christian Indians would never be persuaded to forsake their settlements, unless they were conducted by their teachers; and, therefore, they called the missionaries before them, declared them at liberty, and advised them to encourage the congregation to prepare for emigrating from their present settlements. The Brethren now returned to their beloved flock at Salem, full of gratitude and praise to God for their merciful deliverance. Here they administered the Lord's Supper to them, during which they enjoyed extraordinary tokens of the divine presence, and exhorted their people to remain faithful and steadfast in the hour of trial. After they had refreshed themselves for some days, about a hundred of the savages, who had constantly watched their motions and surrounded them at some distance, entered the town, and behaved like so many madmen, committing the most daring outrages. The missionaries now perceived that there was no alternative left them but to emigrate, and therefore proposed it to the congregation, who readily acquiesced in the measure *(v)*

But never did they forsake any country with so much regret. They were now obliged to leave three beautiful settlements, and a greater part of their property behind them. They had already lost upwards of two hundred black cattle, and four hundred hogs; but, besides this, they had to abandon great quantities of Indian corn in their stores, upwards of three hundred acres of land, where the crop was just ripening, together with potatoes, cabbage, and other garden stuffs in the ground. According to a moderate calculation, their loss was not less than twelve thousand dollars, a large sum certainly to belong chiefly to Indians, and a striking proof of the improvements which the

(u) Loskiel, Part III. p. 158. *(v)* Ibid. Part III. p. 160.

missionaries had introduced among them. But what gave them most concern of all, was the total loss of the books and manuscripts which they had compiled, with immense care and labour, for the instruction of the Indian youth, all of which were now burnt by the savages. Besides, they had nothing before them but the prospect of trials and disappointments, of hardships, difficulties, and dangers. But there was no help for it. They could only possess their souls in patience, commit their way to God, and go whither they would not. *(w)*

On leaving their settlements on the Muskingum, they were escorted by a troop of savages, who were commanded by an English officer, and enclosed them on all hands, at the distance of some miles. They went partly by land, partly by water. Some of the canoes sunk, and those who were in them lost all their provisions, and whatever, else they carried with them. Those who went by land, drove the cattle before them, having collected a considerable herd of these animals from two of their settlements. The Brethren and their wives usually travelled in the midst of their beloved people. One morning, however, when the Christian Indians could not set off so expeditiously as their conductors thought proper, the savages attacked the missionaries, and forced them away alone, whipped their horses forward till the animals became quite unmanageable, and would not even allow the women to suckle their infant children. The road too was extremely bad, being through one continued swamp. Mrs. Zeisberger fell twice from her horse, and in one of these instances, was dragged for some time, hanging in the stirrup; but through the kindness of Providence she was mercifully preserved. Some of the Christian Indians followed them as hard as they could, but with all their exertions they did not overtake them till night; and hence the missionaries and their families were not delivered out of the hands of the merciless savages till next morning. But though the journey

(w) Loskiel, Part III. p. 161.

was extremely irksome, they all travelled along with the utmost resignation and patience. Not one left the congregation, not one laid the blame of their troubles and losses upon others; no dissatisfaction, no disunion arose among them. They adhered to each other as brethren and friends, rejoicing in God their Saviour, and even held their daily meetings upon the road. *(x)*

Having arrived at Sandusky creek, after a journey of upwards of four weeks, the half-king of the Hurons and his warriors left them, and marched into their own country, without giving them any particular orders how to proceed. Thus, they were abandoned in a wilderness where there was neither game nor provisions of any description; for such was the place to which the barbarians had led them, notwithstanding they had represented it as a perfect paradise. After wandering to and fro for some time, they resolved to spend the winter in Upper Sandusky; and having pitched on the most convenient spot they could find in this dreary region, they erected small huts of logs and bark to shelter themselves from the rain and cold. They were now, however, so poor, that they had neither beds nor blankets; for, on the journey, the savages had stolen every thing from them, except only their utensils for manufacturing maple sugar. But nothing distressed them so much as the want of provisions. Some had long spent their all, and now depended on the charity of their neighbours for a morsel to eat. Even the missionaries who hitherto had uniformly gained a livelihood by the labour of their hands, were now reduced to the necessity of receiving support from the congregation. As their wants were so urgent, Shebosh the missionary, and several of the Christian Indians, returned as soon as possible to their settlements on the Muskingum, in order to fetch the Indian corn which they had left growing in the fields. *(y)*

Scarcely had the congregation begun to settle in this place, when the missionaries were ordered to come and

(x) Loskiel, Part III. p. 161. *(y)* Ibid. III. p. 162.

appear before the governor of fort Detroit. Four of them, accompanied by several of the Indian assistants, accordingly set off without delay, while the other two remained with their little flock. On taking their departure, they experienced the most agonizing sensations, partly, as they knew not what might be the issue of the journey, and partly, as they were obliged to leave their families in want of the common necessaries of life. As they travelled chiefly by land along the banks of lake Erie, they had to pass through numerous swamps, over large inundated plains, and through thick forests. But the most painful circumstance of all was this, that they heard that some of the Indians who had gone to the Muskingum to fetch corn, had been murdered by the White people, and that a large body of the same miscreants were marching to Sandusky to surprise the new settlement. This report, indeed, was not correct. Shebosh the missionary, and five of the Christian Indians, were, it is true, taken prisoners at Shoenbrunn, and carried to Pittsburgh. The others returned safe to Sandusky, with about four hundred bushels of Indian corn, which they had gathered in the fields. But as our travellers did not hear a correct statement of these circumstances until afterwards, they, in the meanwhile, suffered the most exquisite anxiety and distress. *(z)*

Having arrived at Detroit, they appeared before the governor, in order to answer to the accusations brought against them of holding a correspondence with the Americans to the prejudice of the English interest. The investigation, however, was deferred till captain Pipe, their principal accuser, should arrive, a circumstance which could not but give them much uneasiness, as he had hitherto shewn himself their bitter and determined enemy. They had no friend on earth to interpose in their behalf; but they had a friend in heaven in whom they put their trust. Nor was their confidence in him in vain. On the day of trial, captain Pipe, after some ceremonies had passed between him and

(z) Loskiel, Part III. p. 164.

colonel De Peyster, respecting the scalps and prisoners which he had brought from the United States, rose and addressed the governor as follows: "Father, you commanded us to bring the believing Indians, and their teachers, from the Muskingum. This has been done. When we had brought them to Sandusky, you ordered us to bring their teachers and some of their chiefs unto you. Here you see them before you. Now you may speak with them yourself as you have desired. But I hope you will speak good words unto them: Yea, I tell you, speak good words unto them, for they are my friends, and I should be sorry to see them ill-used." These last words he repeated two or three times. In reply to this speech, the governor enumerated to him the various complaints he had made against the Brethren, and called upon him to prove that they had actually corresponded with the Americans to the prejudice of the English. To this the chief replied, that such a thing might have happened; but they would do it no more, for they were now at Detroit. The governor, justly dissatisfied with this answer, peremptorily demanded that he should give a direct reply to his question. Pipe was now greatly embarrassed, began to shift and shuffle, and, bending to his counsellors, asked them, What he should say? But they all hung their heads in silence. On a sudden, however, he rose, and thus addressed the governor: "I said before that such a thing might have happened: Now I will tell you the truth. The missionaries are innocent. They have done nothing of themselves. What they did, they were compelled to do." Then smiting his breast, he added: "I am to blame, and the chiefs who were with me. We forced them to do it when they refused;" alluding to the correspondence between the Delaware chiefs and the Americans, of which the missionaries were the innocent medium. Thus the Brethren found an advocate and a friend in their accuser and their enemy. *(a)*

(a) Loskiel, Part III. p. 165.

After making some further enquiries concerning them, the governor declared, before the whole court, that the Brethren were innocent of all the charges alleged against them; and that he felt great satisfaction in their endeavours to civilize and Christianize the Indians; and that he would permit them to return to their congregation without delay. He even offered them the use of his own house in the most friendly manner; and as they had been plundered, contrary to his express command, he ordered them to be supplied with clothes, and various other articles, of which they stood in need. He even bought them four watches which the savages had taken from them, and which they had sold to a trader. After experiencing various other acts of kindness from him, they returned to Sandusky, and were received with inexpressible joy, by their families and the whole congregation, who had been under strong apprehensions that they would be detained prisoners at Detroit. *(b)*

The congregation at Sandusky were still in extreme want of provisions, and at length famine, in all its horrors appeared among them. Often they knew not to-day what they should eat to-morrow. At Christmas, they could not as usual observe the Lord's Supper, as they had neither bread nor wine. The cattle, of which they had considerable herds, had no forage, so that such of them as were not killed for food perished of hunger. Provisions were not to be had even for money; or if any were bought in other places, it was at a most exorbitant price. Many of the poor lived on wild potatoes; and, at last, their want was so extreme, that they greedily devoured the carcases of the horses and cattle, which were starved to death. In this wretched situation, they had a visit from the half-king of the Hurons, with a number of his warriors and some White people. As they were not able to furnish their guests with a meal, one of the assistants went to the chief, and informed him that no meat was to be had, except the flesh of dead cattle, representing,

(b) Loskiel, Part III. p. 167.

at the same time, the contrast between their present adverse circumstances, and their former prosperous situation, when they afforded him and his followers an abundant supply of whatever they needed. The king appeared to be struck with the reproof, and went away in silence. But many of the Indians, with all the barbarity natural to savages, when they came to Sandusky, and beheld such numbers of cattle lying dead on the ground, laughed at the melancholy spectacle, reviled their Christian countrymen, and expressed the utmost joy at their sufferings: "Now," said they, "you are become like us, and certainly you deserve not to fare better." *(c)*

Impelled by the severity of the famine, several parties of the Christian Indians went from Sandusky to the settlements on the Muskingum to fetch provisions, as it was reported there was now no danger in that quarter of the country. In this, however, they were awfully mistaken. That quarter now became the theatre of a catastrophe, which perhaps has scarcely a parallel in the annals of treachery and murder. The governor of Pittsburgh having released the Christian Indians, who, together with Shebosh, the missionary, had been taken prisoners at Shoenbrunn; this act of common justice and humanity mightily incensed some of those miscreants, who, as we have already mentioned, represented the Indians as a kind of Canaanites, whom it was a duty to exterminate from the face of the earth. Having heard that many of the Christian Indians came occasionally from Sandusky to the Muskingum for provisions, a band of these ruffians, about one hundred and sixty in number, determined to murder these poor people by surprise, to destroy their settlements, and then to march to Sandusky, and cut off the rest of the congregation. Colonel Gibson at Pittsburgh having heard of this barbarous plot, sent messengers to the Christian Indians on the Muskingum to apprize them of their danger; but it was too late before they arrived. The

(c) Loskiel, Part III. p. 169, 170.

Indians, however, received information of the approach of the White people, from a different quarter, in time enough to have saved themselves by flight; but though on other occasions, they used to manifest the utmost caution and timidity, yet, at this time, they shewed no signs of fear, apprehending that they had nothing to dread from the Americans, but only from the savages. *(d)*

Early in March 1782, the conspirators arrived at Gnadenhuetten. About a mile from the settlement, they met the son of Shebosh, the missionary, in the woods, and having fired at him, wounded him in such a manner, that it was impossible for him to escape. In vain did he implore his life; in vain did he represent that he was the son of a White Christian man. They were deaf to all his entreaties, and cruelly cut him in pieces with their hatchets. They then came to the Indians, most of whom were gathering the corn in their plantations, accosted them in a friendly manner, and told them to go home, promising to do them no injury. They even pretended to pity them, on account of the mischief they had suffered from the English and the savages, and assured them of the protection and friendship of the Americans. The poor simple Indians believed every word, returned with them to the town, and treated them in the most hospitable manner. Having informed their visitors, that a small barrel of wine, which was found among their goods, was designed for the Lord's Supper, and that they were to carry it with them to Sandusky, the ruffians told them, that they should not return thither, but go with them to Pittsburgh, where they should be in no danger either from the English or the savages. This proposal the Indians heard with resignation, hoping that God might by this means put a period to their present sufferings, which were so numerous and severe. Prepossessed with this idea, they cheerfully delivered up their guns, their hatchets, and their other weapons to the conspirators, who promised to take

(d) Loskiel, Part III. p. 171, 175.

care of them; and, on their arrival at Pittsburgh, to return every article to its rightful owner. The poor unsuspecting creatures even shewed them all those articles which they had secreted in the woods, assisted in packing them up, and thus emptied all their stores for this band of miscreants. *(e)*

Meanwhile, John Martin, one of the Indian assistants, went to Salem, with the news of the arrival of the White people, to his Christian countrymen in that town, and assured them they need not be afraid to go with them, for that they were come to conduct them to a place of safety. The Indians at Salem did not hesitate to accept of the proposal, believing unanimously that God had sent the Americans to release them from their present disagreeable situation at Sandusky, and imagining that when they arrived at Pittsburgh, they might soon find a place to build a settlement, and easily procure assistance from Bethlehem. John Martin accordingly returned to Gnadenhuetten, accompanied by two of them, to acquaint both their Brethren and the White people with their resolution. The ruffians having expressed a desire to see Salem, a party of them were conducted thither, and received with the utmost hospitality. Here they professed the same attachment to the Indians as at Gnadenhuetten, and easily persuaded the poor creatures to go with them to that place. With the hypocrisy of consummate villains, they feigned great piety by the way, entered into much spiritual conversation with the converts, some of whom spoke English well, and gave very scriptural and suitable answers to many questions which these miscreants proposed to them on religious subjects. *(f)*

Having by such base hypocritical arts completely deceived the unsuspecting Indians, the blood-thirsty villains, at length, threw off the mask, and displayed their character in its true colours. In the meanwhile, they had attacked the poor defenceless inhabitants of Gnadenhuetten, and bound them without resistance. The Indians from Salem now shared a

(e) Loskiel, Part III. p. 177. *(f)* Ibid. Part III. p. 178.

similar fate. Before they entered the town, they were suddenly surprised by their conductors, robbed of their guns, and even of their pocket knives, and brought bound into the settlement. The conspirators now met in council, and resolved by a majority of votes to murder them all the following day. Such as opposed the barbarous resolution, wrung their hands, and called God to witness that they were innocent of the blood of these harmless Indians. But the majority were inflexible, and only differed concerning the mode of the execution. Some were for burning them, and others for scalping them in cold blood. Either mode was shocking to humanity; but the latter was, at length fixed upon; and one of the council was sent to the prisoners, to tell them, that as they were Christian Indians, they might prepare themselves for death in a Christian manner, for that they must all die on the morrow. *(g)*

This message, so dreadful and unexpected, as first struck the Indians, as might naturally be supposed, with extreme horror. They soon, however, recollected themselves, and patiently suffered their enemies to lead them into two houses, in one of which the men, and in the other the women and children, were confined like sheep for the slaughter. Their last night on earth they spent in prayer, and in exhorting each other to remain faithful unto death; and, as the morning approached, they employed themselves in singing the praises of God their Saviour, in the joyful hope of soon joining the choir of the redeemed in heaven *(h)*

When the day of execution arrived, the murderers fixed on two houses, one for the men, the other for the women and children, to which they wantonly gave the name of slaughter-houses. Some of them even came to the prisoners, manifesting great impatience, that the execution was not yet begun. No time, however, was now lost. The carnage immediately commenced, and presented so shocking a scene, that humanity must shudder at the recital. The

(g) Loskiel, Part III. p. 178. *(h)* Ibid. Part III. p. 179.

poor innocent creatures, men, women, and children, were bound with ropes, two and two together. They were then led into the slaughter-houses appointed for them. There they were scalped and murdered in cold blood, by these demons in human form. In this horrid manner, perished no fewer than ninety-six persons among whom were five of the most valuable assistants, and thirty-four children! According to the testimony of the murderers themselves, they behaved with wonderful patience, and met death with cheerful resignation. The miscreants even acknowledged, that they were good Indians; "for," said they, "they sung and prayed to their latest breath." *(i)*

Of the whole number of Indians at Gnadenhuetten and Salem, only two youths escaped; and indeed, their escape was little less than miraculous. One of them was so fortunate as to disengage himself from his bonds; then slipping unobserved from the crowd, he crept through a narrow window into the cellar of the house, where the women and children were slaughtered. He had not been long there, when their blood penetrated through the floor, and, according to his account, ran in streams into the cellar, a circumstance which renders it probable, that they were not only scalped, but killed with hatchets or swords. Here he lurked till night, no one coming down to search the cellar; and then, though with much difficulty, he climbed up the wall to the window, and fled into a neighbouring thicket. The escape of the other youth was still more singular. The murderers gave him only one blow on the head, cut of his scalp, and then left him. After some time, he recovered his senses, and beheld himself surrounded by bleeding corpses. In the midst of these, he observed one of the converts, named Abel, moving and attempting to raise himself up. But he lay perfectly still, as though he had been dead, a caution which proved the means of his deliverance; for, shortly after, one of the murderers came in, and perceiving

(i) Loskiel, Part III. p. 180, 184.

Abel's motions, killed him outright with two or three blows. Our youth lay quiet till dark, though suffering the most exquisite torment from his wounds. He then ventured to creep to the door, and having observed nobody in the neighbourhood, he escaped into the woods, where he lay concealed during the night. Here the two lads met with each other; and before they left their retreat, they saw the demons, with a ferocious insensibility, making merry, after the accomplishment of their diabolical enterprize; and at last set fire to the two slaughter-houses, filled with the corpses of their innocent victims. *(k)*

While the Christian Indians at Gnadenhuetten and Salem were in this manner inhumanly butchered, those at Shoenbrunn, providentially escaped. Having had occasion to send a message to Gnadenhuetten, the bearer of it, before he reached that place, found young Shebosh lying dead on the ground; and looking forward, he saw a number of White people about the town. Alarmed by this discovery, he fled back to Shoenbrunn with great precipitation, and told the Indians what he had seen. Upon this, they all took flight, and ran into the woods, so that when the monsters arrived at the town, they found nobody in it; and though the Indians lay concealed in the neighbourhood, yet happily they escaped undiscovered. Having, therefore, set fire to the three settlements, the ruffians marched off with the scalps of their innocent murdered victims, about fifty horses, and such other parts of their property as they chose to carry with them. *(l)*

In the meanwhile, the missionaries at Sandusky were not without their trials. In the congregation itself, there arose some false brethren, who, having relapsed into the paths of sin, endeavoured to introduce their Heathenish practices among their Christian countrymen. They would not even leave the settlement, but stopped in defiance of all remonstrances, were enraged when kindly reproved, and went

(k) Loskiel, Part III. p. 180. *(l)* Ibid. Part III. p. 181.

among the neighbouring Pagans, trying to exasperate them against the missionaries. Besides, though the governor of Detroit had promised that the Brethren should not be molested in their labours, yet this was an engagement he was not able to fulfil. Soon after their return to Sandusky, some of the principal Delaware chiefs expressed their surprise, that he should have permitted them to depart, and thus disappointed their hopes of getting rid of persons whom they deemed so troublesome. Hitherto, however, the governor had found means to pacify them by the wisdom and firmness of his conduct. But now the half-king of the Hurons again took part against them. Two of his sons, who had lately gone on a murdering expedition, having both been killed, he foolishly ascribed their death to the intrigues of the Brethren, and determined to be revenged upon them. Besides, with the dread natural to a guilty conscience, he lived in perpetual apprehension that the Christian Indians, if they were suffered to remain in a body, might revenge on him the many injuries which they and their teachers had lately suffered. To disperse them, therefore, was a great object with him; and he knew nothing so likely to accomplish this, as to take their instructors from them. Influenced in part, perhaps, by his insidious representations, the governor of Detroit now sent an order to him, and an English officer in his company, to bring all the missionaries and their families to that place, but with strict charges neither to plunder nor abuse them. *(m)*

This order was like a thunderbolt to the missionaries; it was worse than death itself. To forsake their congregation, whom they loved as their own souls; to leave them exposed to all the fury of their enemies, or to be scattered in the wilderness among the Heathen, wrung their hearts with inexpressible anguish. It was vain, however, to resist. The slightest remonstrance might have subjected them to plunder and abuse, and could not be of the smallest service.

(m) Loskiel, Part III. p. 171.

When this order was communicated to the congregation, a most tender and affecting scene was exhibited among them. The poor Indians were dissolved in tears. All broke forth into the most bitter lamentations; all exclaimed that they were left as sheep without a shepherd. This could not fail to aggravate the distress of the missionaries; it pierced them like a dagger to the heart; it almost overwhelmed their spirit. As yet they had heard nothing of the tragical catastrophe on the Muskingum; but, on the day before their departure, the awful report reached them. A warrior arrived from that part of the country, who related that all the Indians, who were found in the deserted settlements seeking provisions, had been taken prisoners by the Americans, carried off to Pittsburgh, and some of them murdered. This report, though it by no means amounted to the whole extent of the evil, was yet dismal enough to aggravate beyond conception the anxiety and distress of the missionaries. Thus overwhelmed with grief and sorrow, they took leave of their beloved Indian congregation; and in parting with them, suffered, as it were, the agony of a thousand deaths. Zeisberger, after exhorting them with all the tenderness of a father, to remain faithful unto death, kneeled down and gave thanks to God, for all the spiritual mercies he had bestowed upon them in the midst of external misery, and commended them to his protection and love, till they should meet each other again, either here on earth, or before the throne in heaven. The Brethren now set off on their journey, believing one part of their beloved congregation to be murdered, another part imprisoned, and the rest in danger of dispersion. They were accompanied a considerable way by a great number of their disconsolate people, weeping as they went; and by some as far as Lower Sandusky, where they arrived after suffering many hardships and inconveniences. Here they had to remain for some time, until the arrival of the vessels which were to carry them forward. During their stay at this place, they were visited by the English officer, who was appointed to conduct them to Detroit; but instead of treating

them with civility, he behaved toward them like a perfect madman, and, with horrid oaths, repeatedly threatened to fracture their skulls with a hatchet. He then sat drinking the whole night in the house where he lodged, raving more wildly than any drunken savage. The vessels, however, at length arrived with a written order, to treat the missionaries with all possible kindness; and, in case of stormy weather, not to endanger their life in crossing the lake; adding at the same time, that should any person do them the smallest injury, he should be called to an account for his conduct. *(n)*

Having, at length, reached Detroit, they were soon after visited by the governor, who assured them, that though many new accusations had been brought against them, yet he was perfectly convinced of their innocence; and had not sent for them on that account, but merely to provide for their safety, as he had received certain intelligence, that they were in the utmost danger of their life as long as they remained at Sandusky. He further left it entirely to themselves, either to stay at Detroit or to go to Bethlehem; and, in the meanwhile, he gave orders that they should be supplied with whatever they needed. *(o)*

Meanwhile, the Indian congregation was reduced to the very brink of ruin. After the departure of the missionaries, the assistants, indeed, continued to meet and exhort their countrymen in the usual regular manner. An English trader who visited Sandusky, and was present at several of their meetings, related that he heard them sing hymns and exhort each other till they wept together like children. But pleasing as was this account, some false brethren now arose, and displayed the perfidy of their hearts. They ascribed to the missionaries all the misfortunes of the congregation; they attributed to them the massacre of their countrymen on the Muskingum; and they even asserted, that, conscious of these things, they had now taken care to go off in safety. These absurd allegations, though reprobated by the faithful

(n) Loskiel, Part III. p. 174, 185. *(o)* Ibid. Part III. p. 187.

part of the congregation, produced no small confusion among them. Besides, the half-king of the Hurons could not rest while the Christian Indians remained in a body in his neighbourhood. He therefore sent them a peremptory order to quit their present situation, and to seek an asylum in some other part of the country. It seemed, indeed, as if no place was left where the poor Indians might have rest for the soles of their feet. They could expect no protection from the White people, and their own countrymen hunted them as partridges on the mountains. For the present, therefore, they resolved to separate, as it seemed vain to make further resistance. One part, accordingly, retired into the country of the Shawanose, the rest stayed for sometime in the neighbourhood of Pipe-town, and then resolved to proceed nearer to the Miami river. Thus there was a period put for a season to the existence of the Indian congregation. *(p)*

Here we cannot but remark, that the removal of the congregation from the Muskingum, though a very painful, was, in fact, a very merciful circumstance. Had they remained in that part of the country, it is probable they would all have been massacred, whereas more than two-thirds of them escaped. A similar observation may be applied to the removal of the missionaries to Detroit, which, at the time, occasioned them so much distress. When they received the governor's orders to repair to that place, they immediately despatched a messenger to the Muskingum to call the Indians home, partly with the view of seeing them once more before their departure, partly for the purpose of getting horses from them for their journey. The bearer of these tidings reached Shoenbrunn the day before the arrival of the murderers at Gnadenhuetten, and when he had delivered his message to the Indians in that place, they sent another person with the news to Gnadenhuetten. It was this messenger, who, as we have already mentioned, came up to young Shebosh, lying scalped on the ground. Struck with terror at the sight, he imme-

(p) Loskiel, Part III. p. 187.

diately fled back to Shoenbrunn, and gave the alarm to the Indians in that place, all of whom, by this means, escaped the dreadful fate of their companions. But the benefit which resulted from the removal of the missionaries to Detroit, did not stop here; it was the mean of saving the Indians at Sandusky, as well as at Shoenbrunn. The gang of murderers who committed the massacre on the Muskingum, had not relinquished their bloody designs against the rest of the congregation. In the month of May, they marched to Sandusky, there to renew the same horrid catastrophe; but happily on their arrival they found nothing but empty huts. Had not the missionaries been called to Detroit, the congregation would have remained at Sandusky, and in that case would, in all probability, have fallen a sacrifice to the fury of this band of demons, who thirsted for their blood. Soon after this disappointment, these miscreants were attacked by a body of English and Indian warriors, and the greater part of them cut in pieces. Thus they met with that justice from the swords of their enemies, which would probably never have been inflicted on them by the laws of their country; a circumstance in which every heart would exult, were it not for the awful dread that persons whose hands were still reeking with the blood of their murdered victims, were but ill prepared to appear before the tribunal of Almighty God, who has threatened to avenge the death of the innocent. *(q)*

Notwithstanding the dispersion of the congregation was the means of their preservation from the hands of these blood-thirsty villains, the missionaries could not but feel the utmost anxiety concerning them, now that they were scattered among the Heathen. Instead, therefore, of availing themselves of the liberty which the governor gave them of retiring to Bethlehem, they resolved to stay in the country, and endeavour to collect the remains of their wandering flock. With this view they lost no time in preparing to build a new settlement, in which the Indians might find a home. In this

(q) Loskiel, Part III. p. 181, 184. 188.

design they were kindly assisted by the governor, and through his friendly interposition, they obtained a grant of land from the Chippeways, about thirty miles to the northward of Detroit, on the banks of the river Huron. He likewise furnished them with provisions, boats, planks, and such other utensils as were necessary, from the royal stores, and his lady presented them with a valuable assortment of seeds and roots. In the month of July, the missionaries set off for this place, accompanied by a number of the Indians, who had already collected to them. Here they marked out the ground for a new settlement which they called Gnadenhuetten, built themselves houses, and laid out gardens and plantations. At first they were so tormented by the stings of various kinds of insects, particularly musquitoes, that they were constantly obliged to keep up a thick smoke, and to lie in the midst of it, a situation certainly not the most agreeable. But the more they cleared the ground of the brushwood with which it was covered, the more the insects decreased in number. They likewise employed themselves in hunting, and bartered the venison and skins for Indian corn and other necessaries. They also made canoes, baskets, and other articles, for which they found a good market at Detroit. By degrees, more of the dispersed Indians collected to them. They had been in imminent danger of their life in the country of the Shawanose, and escaped only by a precipitate flight. Whenever any of them passed through Detroit, the governor generously supplied them with food, and, if necessary, with clothing also. Even when the inhabitants of Gnadenhuetten occasionally went thither to fetch provisions, he ordered them to be given free of expence until their own crops were ready. Indeed, we may observe, in general, that the British government uniformly manifested particular kindness to the missionaries and their people. *(r)*

Still, however, the greater part of the congregation remained scattered among the Heathen, particularly in

(r) Loskiel, Part III. p. 189, 194.

the country of the Twichtwees, about two hundred and fifty miles to the south-west of the new settlement. The missionaries lost no opportunities of sending them verbal messages, inviting them to come and join them; but it often happened that the bearers perverted these messages, and employed every mean in their power to prevent the return of the converts. Some of the chiefs even commanded them, in an authorative manner, to be resigned to their fate, and to resume the Pagan mode of life: For now, said they, "not a word of the gospel shall any more be heard in the Indian country." But notwithstanding the means which the savages employed to hinder their return, many of them came back the following spring. Some of these, however, had cause to mourn over the injury they had sustained in their spiritual interests, by their late intercourse with the Heathen; this, indeed, grieved them more than all their temporal misfortunes. They were all received with open arms, and treated with the love and compassion due to brethren. Others through fear, continued to reside among the savages, and some even relapsed into Paganism. *(s)*

In the beginning of 1784, there was a very severe frost, attended with a deep fall of snow, extending over the whole of the neighbouring country. As no one expected such a winter, no provision was made either for man or beast. The extraordinary and early night frosts, in the preceeding autumn, had destroyed a great part of the promising crop of Indian corn, so that it was not long before the people began to be in want. They were, therefore, obliged to disperse, and seek a livelihood wherever they could find it; some of them, indeed, lived upon nothing but wild herbs. A general famine at length ensued: the hollow eyes and the emaciated countenances of the poor people were now sad indications of their distress. Still, however, they appeared cheerful, and resigned to the will of God; and at last it pleased him to relieve their wants. A large herd of deer having

(s) Loskiel, Part III. p. 194.

strayed into the neighbourhood of Gnadenhuetten, the Indians shot upwards of a hundred of them, though the cold was then so intense that several of them returned with frozen feet, owing chiefly to their wearing snow shoes. As soon as the snow melted, they went in search of wild potatoes, and came home loaded with them. When the ice was gone, they caught vast numbers of fishes. Billberries were there next resource, and of these they found great quantities in the woods. Soon after they reaped their Indian corn, of which happily they had an abundant crop *(t)*

By the industry of the Christian Indians, Gnadenhuetten in a short time became a very neat regular town, and was much admired by the White people, many of whom came to see it from the reports they heard concerning it. The houses were remarkably well built, and the country around, which was lately a wilderness, was now cultivated to a considerable extent. The whole neighbourhood acknowledged, that they were an industrious, sober, honest people, insomuch that the traders at Detroit never refused them credit, being certain of full and punctual payment. Some of the converts, however, were not sufficiently cautious in this respect, especially during the famine, when necessity obliged them to run in debt. One trader alone had a claim of two hundred pounds sterling upon them, a circumstance which the missionaries were afraid might give rise to some unpleasant consequences. But their apprehensions proved groundless, for the Indians began to work hard, and it was not long before they paid all their debts. There was only one poor man who, having a large family to support, was not able to discharge his accounts, and therefore he came to the missionaries to make his distress known to them On account of the peculiarity of his circumstances, they readily agreed to assist him; but in the meanwhile, his wife, as she was walking with her children in the fields, accidentally found a guinea. She supposed it to be only a piece of brass till the

(t) Loskiel, Part III. p. 199.

missionaries informed her of its value; and then her husband went and paid his debt, which was so small, that after discharging it, he had a few shillings over. *(u)*

But the congregation were not allowed to remain long in this place, where they were just beginning to be comfortably settled. Some of the Chippeways, though they had originally given them liberty to settle in this quarter, now expressed their dissatisfaction that they should have taken up their residence in a country which had been their chief hunting ground; and even threatened to murder some of them, in order to compel the rest to leave the place. It appeared, indeed, that there would be no end to their demands and complaints. The Brethren, therefore, found it necessary to leave this part of the country; but whither to go they were for sometime uncertain. The congress of the United States, after the conclusion of the war with England, had expressly ordered that the district belonging to the three congregations on the Muskingum should be reserved for them, with as much land as the surveyor-general should think proper. An Indian has a strong aversion to live in a spot where any of his relations have been killed; but the Christian Indians had laid aside this remnant of superstition, and longed to return to the place of their former abode. The savages, however, seemed still determined to carry on the war against the United States; and a great part of the Delawares and Shawanose positively declared their intention to withstand the return of the congregation to that part of the country. The Brethren, however, resolved, notwithstanding the threats of the Pagans, to emigrate from Gnadenhuetten; and should they not be able, at present, to take possession of their land on the Muskingum, to settle in the first convenient place they could find. The new governor of fort Detroit, major Ancram, approved of their determination, and sent a formal message to the Indian tribes, that they should not molest their Christian countrymen. He likewise so managed the

(u) Loskiel, Part III. p. 200, 207.

business, that they received a compensation of two hundred dollars for their houses and plantations on the river Huron, as it was resolved that the town should be inhabited by White people. Besides, he was so generous as to offer them vessels to carry the whole congregation across lake Erie to Cayahaga, and to supply them with provisions on their arrival. *(v)*

In April 1786, the missionaries and their people left Gnadenhuetten, and embarked on board of two vessels, the Beaver and the Makina, belonging to the North-west Company. One of the partners kindly offered them for the service of the congregation, and gave orders to the captains to treat their passengers with all possible kindness, and not to run any kind of risk in case of danger. They had a good voyage till they arrived at a certain island, where they were obliged to stop, and had their patience tried for no less than four weeks, the wind being contrary all that time. They pitched their camp upon the island, and followed the vessels whenever they shifted their station, in order to be ready to start with the first fair breeze. As often as there appeared the least prospect of proceeding, they all went on board; but, to their great disappointment, they had several times to return on shore. Having once, however, a brisk gale, they sailed in good earnest, and made such rapid progress, that they saw the coast of Cayahaga before them; but suddenly the wind shifted, and drove them to their former station on the island. During the gale, most of the Indians were so sick, that they lay on deck senseless and almost half dead. To prevent them rolling over board, the captains ordered them to be fastened to the vessels. *(w)*

One of the vessels being ordered to return to Detroit, owing to their long detention in this quarter, it was agreed by the captains to land the congregation in two divisions in Sandusky bay, and then to proceed with the baggage to

(v) Loskiel, Part III. p. 201, 203, 204, 205.
(w) Ibid. Part III. 207.

Cayahaga. The first division accordingly sailed the following day under the care of David Zeisberger, but being unable to reach Sandusky, they went on shore at Rocky Point, about eighty miles from that bay. Here they had to ascend very high and steep rocks, and to cut their way through a thicket to the summit of them. They had scarcely, however, pitched their camp, when a party of Ottaways, who were hunting in that neighbourhood, came upon them, and expressed great astonishmem to find such a number of people encamped in this pathless desert. On the following day they all set out on foot, and every one, Zeisberger and his wife not excepted, was loaded with a part of the provisions. Such as formed the van had the greatest difficulties to encounter, being obliged to cut and force their way through the thickets. Having arrived at a large brook, running through a swamp, all the Indians, both men and women, waded through it, some of them up to the arm pits in the water. The missionary and his wife were taken over in a barrow. After several days, the second division of the congregation overtook them, in slight canoes, made hastily of bark, and at length they all arrived in safety at Cayahaga. From thence they proceeded up the river till they came to an old town, about a hundred and forty miles from Pittsburgh, which had been forsaken by the Ottaways. This was the first spot they discovered fit for a settlement, for from the mouth of the river to this place it was nothing but one wild continued forest. As they were entire strangers to the state of the neighbouring country, they resolved to spend the summer here; and, accordingly they encamped on the east side of the river, upon an elevated plain, built themselves huts, and having with much difficulty cleared the ground for plantations, they ventured to sow Indian corn, though it was then so late in the season. This place was called Pilgerruh, or Pilgrim's Rest. *(x)*

(x) Loskiel, Part III. p. 207.

Soon after their arrival at this place, the congregation received a very acceptable supply of various necessary articles from the Brethren at Bethlehem. There were also some traders who were so kind as to furnish them with provisions, and to trust them for a great part of the payment. The congress of the United States was likewise so generous, as to order them a supply of Indian corn and blankets; and they even sent a written message to them, informing them, that it had given them much satisfaction to hear of their return into the territory of the United States, on this side of lake Erie; that they might rest assured of the friendship and protection of government; and that upon their going to the Muskingum, they should receive five hundred bushels of Indian corn from the public magazines on the river Ohio, with other useful necessaries; a promise which was fulfilled to its utmost extent, even though the congregation remained in that part of the country. *(y)*

In the meanwhile, however, the congregation was not without its trials and difficulties. One evening, a message arrived from captain Pipe, the Delaware chief, with an account that the Americans had surprised the towns of the Shawanose, pillaged and burnt them, murdered a number of the people, and carried others away prisoners; and that an army had arrived from Pittsburgh at Tuscarawi; and therefore he advised the inhabitants of Pilgerruh to fly immediately, lest they also should be surprised and murdered by the enemy. This report seemed so incredible to the missionaries, that they endeavoured to persuade the Indians of its falsehood. But here arguments were of no avail. The massacre on the Muskingum immediately presented itself to their troubled imagination; and the women and children fled the same night into the thickest recesses of the wood. Messengers, however, being sent to Tuscarawi, and on the road to Pittsburgh, it was soon discovered, that their dread of an American army was entirely without foundation. But the alarm was renewed a few evenings after, in consequence

(y) Loskiel, Part III. p. 211, 215, 219.

of a great noise, and the sound of many horse-bells being heard in the neighbourhood. The missionaries supposed, that the whole proceeded from a convoy of flour which they expected, and this, indeed, proved to be the case; but the Indians, ever fearful and suspicious, would not so much as listen to their representations. Imagining that this was the army which was to surprise and murder them, they fled with precipitation into the woods, and left their teachers quite alone in the settlement. By degrees, however, they recovered from their panic, and returned to their dwellings. *(z)*

The Indian congregation were still extremely desirous to return to the Muskingum; but this the savages were as determined to oppose. Neither would they allow them to remain in their present situation; but insisted on their removing to some other part of the country. Thus, the Brethren were placed in very embarrassing circumstances; but, after mature deliberation, they resolved to give up all thoughts of returning to the Muskingum for the present, and to settle on some spot between the river Cayahaga and Pettquotting, where they might enjoy a calm and safe retreat. *(a)*

In April 1787, the congregation left Pilgerruh, and proceeded, partly by land and partly by water, to the place they had fixed on for a new settlement; and on their arrival, they were much delighted with its appearance. Unlike the rest of the wilderness, it seemed like a fruitful orchard. Here and there grew several apple and plumb trees. The country abounded with wild potatoes, an article of food now much esteemed by the Indians; and the lake afforded them a plentiful supply of fish. Never, indeed, had the Brethren settled in so pleasant and fertile a spot; and now they rejoiced in the prospect of establishing a settlement in so agreeable a situation, especially as it was not frequented by any of the savages, who had hitherto been such troublesome neighbours to them. *(b)*

(z) Loskiel, Part III. p. 216. *(a)* Ibid. Part III. p. 218.
(b) Ibid. Part III. p. 219.

Their joy, however, was of short duration. Scarcely had they begun to indulge these pleasing hopes, when a Delaware captain arrived in the camp, and informed them that they must not settle in that place, but come and reside at Sandusky; adding, at the same time, that they were not to consider this as a matter about which they were to deliberate, but as a thing that was positively determined. As usual, he made them the most solemn promises of protection and safety; and he assured them, that the place appointed for their residence was not in the vicinity of any Indian town, the nearest being ten miles distant. Nothing could be more disagreeable to the congregation than this message; and though they represented to the captain the malice and treachery of the Delaware chiefs to them for the last six or seven years, yet they resolved to submit, lest their opposition should involve them in still greater calamities. Nothing, it is worthy of remark, appeared so dreadful in this proposal, as the prospect of being again subject to Heathen government. They, however, set forward on their journey; but before they had proceeded far, they discovered that the greater part of the message was false; for the place fixed on for their residence was not above two miles from the savages. They, therefore, determined to go no further for the present; but to settle in that quarter of the country near Pettquotting, and even to maintain their post in opposition to the will of the savages. Having sent a message to the chiefs to this effect, they obtained permission from them to stay at least one year in that place without molestation. Here, therefore, they proceeded to erect a settlement, which they called New Salem. *(c)*

Among the savages, who, about this period, became concerned for their souls, was a notorious profligate, who some years before had formed a plan to murder the missionaries, and often lay in ambush for this purpose, but happily had never succeeded. Being on a journey, he came without design to Pilgerruh, where he heard the gospel with great

(c) Loskiel, Part III. p. 221.

attention, and, being much impressed by it, remained with the congregation, and was baptized a few months after. We may also notice a Huron Indian, who had been invited by his countrymen to become their chief, but declined the offer, and came to New Salem, declaring that for two years he had been looking in vain for something better than worldly honour. He intended to go and visit his Heathen relations beyond fort Detroit; but on hearing of the love of Christ to sinners, he relinquished his design, and remained faithfully attached to the congregation, with whom he found that peace and rest which he had so long sought in vain. *(d)*

Many of the poor Indians, who had wandered astray during the late troubles of the congregation, continued to return from time to time, and were received by their brethren with open arms; though, with regard to such of them as either, through persuasion or fear, had been drawn aside into Heathenish practices, the missionaries exercised much caution and care, before they admitted them to the full privileges of members. They were also visited by great numbers of strangers; for as there was then a famine in the country, the savages knew that they would find provisions more readily with their Christian countrymen, than among their Pagan neighbours. Some of these were forcibly struck with the order and comfort which they observed among the converts; and one of them said, "You are truly a happy people. You live cheerfully and peaceably together. This is to be found no where but with you." In no place, indeed, where the Brethren had resided, were they visited by so many strangers as at New Salem. The town was sometimes so full, that there was not room enough for them; and it likewise became necessary to enlarge their chapel; but though their visitors were so numerous, the best order was still preserved in the settlement; no riots, no disturbances were occasioned by them. *(e)*

(d) Loskiel, Part III. p. 223.

(e) Ibid. Part III. p. 224.—Period. Accounts, vol. i. p. 20, 22.

In April 1791, the whole congregation, consisting of about two hundred persons, moved across the lake and settled in a place about eighteen miles from Detroit, under the protection of the British government. Of late, they had been not a little molested by the dealers in rum and other noisy visitors: They were also much alarmed by the outrages committed by the savages in various parts of the country; and there was even a prospect of hostilities again breaking out between the Indians and the Americans. Such were the circumstances which gave rise to the emigration of the congregation. But neither were they without difficulties in their new settlement. Some of their White neighbours, who were not well affected towards them, greatly molested them; and one of them, more bitter than the rest, drove his cattle into their plantations, by which the corn and other produce in their fields were totally destroyed. Besides, the congregation were much harassed with messages from the savages, who had now engaged in war with the United States, requiring them to take up the hatchet against the White men; and it appeared that a resolution had been taken by the chiefs and council, to teaze the Christian Indians till they should join them, threatening, in case of a refusal, to carry off the missionaries, and to treat their people as they had been formerly served on the Muskingum, or force them to return to Paganism. Besides, the spot of land on which they resided, was unfavourable for a settlement. The country was low and unhealthy: Many of the Indians died in this place; and the missionaries themselves were attacked with various disorders. *(f)*

In April 1792, the congregation left this temporary residence on lake Erie, and proceeded, some by land, and some by water, to Upper Canada, where the British government had assigned them a piece of ground, consisting of twenty-five thousand acres, on Retrench, or Thames river, which falls into the east side of lake St. Clair. Here the high lands

(f) Period. Accounts, vol. i. p. 108, 127, 136, 139.

were sandy, but the low lands were extremely rich. There were also springs in abundance, and the clearing of the ground was easy. In this place, they began to build a new town, which they called Fairfield. The settlement was afterwards declared to be a regular township, containing twelve miles in length and six in breadth; and in a short time, the Indians so improved it by cultivating the ground, and planting gardens, that the wilderness was literally changed into a fruitful field. *(g)*

It is well known, that White people, with the exception of traders, commonly avoid settling near an Indian town, as they are afraid of their horses being stolen, their cattle killed, their persons molested, and their improvements marred. Nothing, therefore, could be a more decisive and unequivocal proof of the high opinion which was generally entertained of the Christian Indians than this circumstance, that no sooner was it known that they were to establish themselves in this quarter, than the White people were eager to take lands in the vicinity of the settlement; and in the course of a few years, they increased to upwards of a hundred families. *(h)*

In a commercial point of view, the settlement of the congregation at Fairfield was of no inconsiderable importance to a country so thinly inhabited, and so far from supplies. By means of them, the price of many of the principal necessaries of life was reduced in Detroit market. The Great North-West Fur Company buys up annually five thousand bushels of Indian corn; and of this the inhabitants of Fairfield furnished, on an average, no less than two thousand bushels. In winter they made about five thousand pounds of sugar; and though they consumed a great part of it themselves, yet what they brought to market was considerable: It was also of a superior quality; for no where in Canada was the juice of the maple tree better manufactured than

(g) Period. Accounts, vol. i. p. 175, 315; vol. iii. p. 269.
(h) Ibid. vol. ii. p. 333.

at Fairfield. They likewise raised great numbers of cattle for sale; and they supplied all the adjacent settlements with canoes, coopery, baskets, mats, &c. *(i)*

When the congregation settled in this place, there were neither White people nor Indians nearer than thirty leagues; but, in the course of a few years, the inhabitants increased so rapidly, that they were continually passing up and down, both by land and water, and the missionary settlement came to be on the great road to Niagara. Among others, the rum traders came frequently to the place, and notwithstanding the sale of that pernicious article was prohibited in the town, they often contrived to furnish one or other of the Indians with it, that they might take advantage of them in their dealings, and by this means they produced no small disorder among them. Besides the Monsy tribe, the offscouring of the Indian nations lived higher up the river, and not only refused to receive the gospel themselves, but delighted in disturbing the peace of the congregation, and endeavoured to seduce them to drunkenness, whoredom, and all kinds of vice. *(k)*.

In this place the congregation was very little increased by additions from among the Heathen. Indeed, during the first six years which elapsed from the time they left New Salem, only twelve adults and forty children were baptized. As peace, however, was now restored between the savages and the United States, a resolution was taken to renew the mission to the Muskingum, where congress had made them a grant of the three towns they formerly possessed in that part of the country, with four thousand acres of land to each of them, making in all twelve thousand acres. With this view one of the Brethren went to survey the country, and sent the following account of the alteration which time had made on its general aspect: "We found," says he, "the whole land covered with long dry grass of old standing, to which, on the day after our arrival, we set fire, in order to defend

(i) Period. Accounts, vol. ii. p. 834. *(k)* Ibid. vol. ii. p. 150.

ourselves, in some degree, against the numerous snakes and serpents which had taken possession of it. All the ground where the town stood is covered with briars, hazel bushes, plumb and thorn trees, like a low impenetrable forest, excepting where the bears, deer, turkies, and other wild animals have made themselves a path. I was exceedingly affected while I walked over and comtemplated the ruins of this once beautiful place. Part of the chimnies appear in their rows. The place where our poor Indians were massacred is strongly marked. Part of their bones are still to be seen among the coals and ashes, and in every quarter the ground is covered with the bones of cattle killed by their enemies. Tears flowed plentifully down my cheeks while I beheld this scene. and I never walk over the ground without being deeply moved." *(l)*

In August 1798, the venerable David Zeisberger, now near eighty years of age, left the settlement of Fairfield, where he was beloved and revered by the whole congregation as a father, and set off for the river Muskingum, accompanied by his wife, Benjamin Mortimer one of the Brethren, and upwards of thirty of the Indians, in order to renew the mission in that part of the country. After a most difficult and dangerous journey, they arrived in that quarter, and began immediately to build a new town on the Shoenbrunn tract, which they called Goshen. Here the Brethren enjoyed peace and quietness, and proceeded in their labours with their usual assiduity and zeal; but we regret to add, with little success. There was now, indeed, no great number of Indians in that part of the country, so that they could not expect any considerable accession to the congregation from among the savages. Over such, however, as lived in the settlement they had no small cause of joy, as amidst numerous and powerful temptations to vice, particularly to drunkenness, the besetting sin of the Indians, the converts remained faithful to their Christian profession; though at a place about

(l) Period. Accounts, vol. i. p. 40; vol. ii. p. 145.

three miles distant there was an English village, which might be considered as a kind of Sodom for wickedness. *(m)*

Besides the settlements at Fairfield in Canada, and at Goshen on the river Muskingum, the Brethren now endeavoured to establish missions in various other parts of the Indian country, and among different tribes of the savages. In consequence of a formal message from the chief and council of the Delawares at Woapikamikunk, on the Wabash, a river which falls into the Ohio, about three hundred miles below Pittsburgh, *(n)* they agreed to form a settlement in that quarter, with a particular view to the collecting of the baptized Indians, who, after the dispersion of the congregation about the end of the American war, had settled in that neighbourhood, and were not permitted by their Pagan acquaintance to return to their teachers. *(o)* In the spring of 1801, John P. Kluge, who had been many years a missionary in South America, and Abraham Luckenbach, another of the Brethren, accompanied by a few of the Christian Indians from Goshen, proceeded to this part of the country. On their arrival they obtained from the chief a grant of a piece of land for a settlement, situated between nine Indian towns, though some miles distant from the nearest of them; and it was agreed that no rum traders or drunken people should be allowed to molest them, and that no persons should be hindered from joining them. *(p)* Here they for some time enjoyed peace and tranquillity, and they had the satisfaction to see their instructions attended by considerable numbers of the Indians. *(q)* Afterwards, however, the aspect of affairs changed, and the situation of the Brethren became truly alarming. One chief, who was their protector, having died, and another who was friendly to them having been deposed,

(m) Period. Accounts, vol. ii. p. 269, 333; vol. v. p. 45.
(n) Loskiel, Part I. p. 6.
(o) Period. Accounts, vol. ii. p. 500.
(p) Ibid. vol. iii. p. 69, 71, 72, 126.
(q) Ibid. vol. iii. p. 272.

the savages became perfectly ungovernable, threatened to murder the missionaries, and even killed their cattle before their eyes. These evils were materially promoted by the rum trade, which was now carried on to a greater extent than ever throughout the whole country, and is rapidly proving the ruin of all the Indian tribes. *(r)* The settlement on the Wabash was at length broken up by one of those tragical scenes, which too often occur in the history of this mission.

In February 1806, all the Indians in this quarter were summoned by their teachers or prophets to assemble on the Woapikamikunk, to hear the foolish stories which these emissaries of Satan had fabricated, and to be instructed in the visions and revelations which they pretended to have received from God. Among these teachers was a Shawanose Indian, an arch-imposter, who gave out that he was able to discover the most secret mysteries. The Delaware tribe received him with the utmost cordiality, and resolved to hold a grand council, in order to root out the arts of witchcraft and mixing poison, and to extort a confession from all such as the Shawano should accuse; and that whoever would not confess, should be hewn in pieces with their hatchets and burnt. With a view to the execution of this horrid design, the young Indians met together, chose the most ferocious characters to be their leaders, deposed all their old chiefs, and guarded the whole Indian assembly, as if they were prisoners of war, particularly the aged of both sexes. The venerable old chief Tettepachsit was the first whom they accused of possessing poison, and of destroying many of the Indians by his pernicious art. As he would not, however, acknowledge the charge, they bound him with cords to two posts, and began to roast him over a slow fire. Unable to endure such exquisite torture, the poor old man declared that he kept poison in the house of the Christian Indian Joshua. Nothing could be more agreeable to the savages than this accusation, as they wished to deprive the

(r) Period. Accounts, vol. iii. p. 471.

missionaries of the assistance of this man, who was the only convert residing with them. Seven of them accordingly came to the settlement of the Brethren, and carried him away by force. *(s)*

When Joshua was presented to Tettepachsit, the old chief frankly acknowledged that he had accused him merely to escape from the torture. The savages therefore pronounced him not guilty, but yet they would not set him at liberty till the Shawano should arrive. This son of Belial having come the same day, all the Indians of both sexes were ordered by him to sit down in a circle, when he would declare who had poison in their possession. The two old chiefs, Tettepachsit and Hackinpomska, he now accused of mixing poison, and he charged the former in particular with the untimely death of many of the Indians. When he was asked about Joshua, he declared that he indeed had no poison, but yet he possessed an evil spirit, by which he was able to destroy the other Indians. Pleased with this inhuman verdict, the savages seized all these innocent people, and set a watch over them as condemned criminals. An old woman named Caritas, who had been baptized by the Brethren in former times, was the first whom they devoted to the flames; and two or three days after, ten of the barbarians, with their faces painted black, came to the missionary settlement, conducting Tettepachsit, the poor aged chief. Upon their arrival they kindled a large fire close to the Brethren's dwelling, and after giving the venerable old man a blow on the head with a hatchet, they threw him into the flames, and diverted themselves with his miserable cries. After committing this horrid murder, they came boldly into the house of the missionaries, boasted of the atrocious deed, and assuming a hypocritical mien, demanded bread and water, which it was of course necessary to give them. The Brethren, however, took courage, and asked them what would be the fate of Joshua, vindi-

(s) Period. Accounts, vol. iv. p. 1.

cated him from the charges which they had alleged against him, and obtained a promise from them that he should not be murdered. Though the missionaries understood that they themselves were suspected by the savages of keeping poison for the purpose of making those Indians sick who would not do as they desired, or even of killing them; yet they felt themselves constrained to go to the assembly, and try what could be done for the preservation of Joshua, or at least to give him comfort and advice in the hour of trial. As the missionary Kluge, however, could not leave his wife and children in so alarming a situation, Luckenbach was so bold as to go alone; but he had scarcely advanced half way when he heard, to his astonishment and grief, that Joshua had been murdered by the savages the preceeding day. It appears they gave him two cuts in the head with a hatchet, and then threw him into the fire. With these dreadful tidings, Luckenbach hastened back to his fellow labourers; and though for some days past they had suffered the most exquisite anxiety and distress, yet this now crowned their misery. Overwhelmed with grief and terror, they lost the power of speech and reflection, and could do nothing but utter cries of lamentation and woe. Having at length recovered themselves in some degree, their first thought was to sell all their goods, and to fly towards Goshen; but the weather having suddenly became exceedingly cold, they were prevented from taking their departure, so soon as they intended. In the following days, others of the Indians were accused of their countrymen, and shared a similar fate; and it was not long before the settlement on the Wabash was finally abandoned. *(t)*

About the time that the settlement on the Wabash was begun, two of the Brethren proceeded into the country of the Cherokee Indians, with the view of establishing a mission among them. Several attempts, indeed, had been made many years before, to introduce the gospel among

(t) Period. Accounts, vol. iv. p. 3.

that tribe; but owing to a variety of circumstances, no settlement was ever formed among them. *(u)* Even at present such difficulties occurred, as at first threatened the subversion of the mission; but these were at length happily removed. *(v)* In learning the language of the Cherokees, the Brethren found almost insuperable difficulties, and indeed they made but little progress in it. *(w)* They succeeded better in cultivating the land, and in practising some of the other ordinary arts of life; *(x)* and they have also, with the consent of the parents, taken some of the children under their care. *(y)*

About the year 1802, one of the Brethren named Denke proceeded to the country of the Chippeway Indians, near lake Erie in Canada, with the view of establishing a mission among them. The savages, with the usual formalities, presented him with a piece of ground, on which to build a chapel and erect a settlement; *(z)* but after sometime, they began to express their dissatisfaction at his residence among them, as they had been taught to suspect that the missionaries designed to take possession of their country; and some even proceeded so far as to utter threats against his life. It therefore appeared unsafe for him to remain any longer on their land, *(a)* and accordingly the mission appears to have been given up not long after. *(b)*

In April 1804, one of the Brethren left Fairfield in Canada with thirty-six of the congregation; and after a very tedious journey, they arrived at Pettquotting near lake Erie, with the view of establishing a new settlement in that part of the country, about three miles beyond the Monsy Indian towns. *(c)* During the first winter, they experienced many

(u) Period. Accounts, vol. iii. p. 42, 73.
(v) Ibid. vol. iii. p. 274, 307, 314.
(w) Ibid. vol. iv. p. 197. *(x)* Ibid. vol. iv. p. 198.
(y) Ibid. vol. iv. p. 196. *(z)* Ibid. vol. iii. p. 191.
(a) Ibid. vol. iv. p. 94. *(b)* Ibid. iv. p. 491.
(c) Ibid. vol. iii. p. 306, 350.

and great hardships, the weather having proved uncommonly tempestuous; *(d)* and, indeed, they had not been long in this place, when they found it would be necessary for them to remove, as government had sold the land to the White people, and hence they were in danger of being driven away, even on a short warning. Besides, the neighbourhood of the Monsy towns, and the rum trade, were extremely pernicious to the morals of the young people. *(e)* the mission was therefore removed from this place, and a new settlement was afterwards begun on Sandusky Creek. From hence they visited the two towns of the Monsy Indians, which were situated higher up the river, generally twice a week, and, when they had opportunity, preached the gospel to the inhabitants. They also began a school with a few Indian children who resided in the neighbourhood, most of whom were baptized; but the Monsy tribe having of late unexpectedly resolved to quit Sandusky, and to settle on the river Huron, the Brethren judged it best to leave that place, and take up their residence in a house that was offered them on the reserved land, which had been built by a Presbyterian minister as a school for Indian children, and was now empty. From hence they hoped to be able to visit the Wyandots and Mingoes who lived in Upper Sandusky, and to preach the gospel to them. *(f)*

In 1807, some of the Brethren undertook a mission to the Creek Indians, and with this view fixed their residence on the river Flint, about sixty American miles from the seat of the government of Georgia. *(g)* This nation is said to consist of between seventy and eighty thousand persons; and it appears that, through the unremitting exertions of government, some of them have been prevailed on to attend to agriculture and a few manufactures. For several years past they have raised corn, pigs, black cattle; planted

(d) Period. Accounts, vol. iii. p. 392.
(e) Ibid. vol. iv. p. 487. *(f)* Ibid. vol. v. p. 208, 264.
(g) Ibid. vol. iv. p. 259, 380.

cotton, wove cloth, and also established a pottery. *(h)* These circumstances, we hope, will facilitate the introduction of Christianity among them.

From this statement it appears that the Brethren have at present five missionary settlements among the Indians in North America, Fairfield in Canada, Goshen on the Muskingum, Spring Place in the country of the Cherokees, Sandusky in the neighbourhood of the Wyondats and Mingoes, and at Flint river among the Creeks. In these several settlements, however, the number of Christian Indians is small: in the three last no converts, so far as we know, have yet been made; and in the other two, there are not more, we suppose, than two hundred. *(i)* What has been the total number of Indians who have been baptized by the Brethren since the commencement of the mission, it is now impossible to ascertain. From a register of the congregation, dated 1772, we learn, that in that year they amounted to seven hundred and twenty: But as the church books and all the other writings of the missionaries were burnt, when they were taken prisoners on the Muskingum in 1781, we do not know the number who have been baptized since that time; *(k)* but for upwards of twenty years past it has been very small. The mission, indeed, has never recovered the dreadful stroke which it received at that period.

Before we close the history of this eventful mission, we must notice the death of that venerable servant of Christ, David Zeisberger. After having laboured upwards of sixty years among the Indians *(l)* he died at the settlement of Goshen on the Muskingum, November 17, 1808, in the eighty-eighth year of his age. To his latest breath, he retained the same ardent zeal for the conversion of the Heathen, the same unaffected serenity of mind, the same unbounded confidence in God, which had distinguished his earlier years. When

(h) Period. Accounts, vol. iii. p. 317, 466.
(i) Ibid. vol. vi. p. 482, 486, 490.
(k) Loskiel, Part III. p. 226. *(l)* Ibid. Part II. p. 91.

old age began to creep upon him, so that he could no longer travel about as formerly among the Pagan Indians, he devoted all his time to the instruction of the congregation at Goshen, sparing no pains, both with the old and the young, in promoting their everlasting interests. When he became almost blind with age, a few months before his death, and his exertions were confined within still narrower limits, he did not lose his usual cheerfulness; he took particular delight in hearing accounts of the success of the gospel, and was perfectly resigned to the will of God as to the declension of his own powers. He had a serious yet animated look; and though his body was worn almost to a skeleton, yet his judgment still remained sound, and from his long experience as a missionary, his observations were considered as invaluable. *(m)* Were men to obtain that honour in the world to which their merit entitles them, he would certainly hold a distinguished place in the annals of fame. Perhaps, indeed, since the days of St. Paul himself, no man has made greater exertions, no man has performed more eminent services, no man has endured more numerous trials in propagating the gospel among the Heathen, than David Zeisberger. Justly may he receive the honourable yet well-earned title of THE APOSTLE OF THE INDIANS.

SECTION. IV.

SOUTH AMERICA.

ARTICLE I. RIO DE BERBICE.

IN 1738, two of the Brethren, John Guettner and Lewis Christopher Dehne, were sent as missionaries to Rio de Berbice, a Dutch settlement near Surinam in South America.

(m) Period. Accounts, vol. iv. p. 377, 308, 431.

After working for some time in the Company's plantation, they took a piece of land on the borders of the colony, and cultivated it on their own account, in the hope of at length finding an opportunity to make known the gospel among the Pagan inhabitants. Here they lived in great poverty, working their plantations with their own hands. Among the Indians who resided in their neighbourhood, and who understood some Dutch, they found no admission for the gospel; and as for those who lived at a distance, they could not speak their language. In 1741, however, they took a boy under their charge, from whom, in the course of a few years, they learned so much of the Arawack language, that they wrote in it a summary of the principles of Christianity, for the use of the Indians. With this short compendium of religion, one of the Brethren ventured to go, from time to time, among the Heathen; sought them out, scattered as they were, over a vast wilderness, three hundred miles in extent; and after saluting them in a friendly manner, read it to them, spoke upon it as well as he was able, and watered all his labours with his prayers and tears. In these excursions they frequently encountered no small difficulties and hardships. They were obliged to carry their provisions on their backs, to hang their hammocks on the trees in the wilderness, and sleep in this singular situation, to wade through the streams and rivers, and often to travel immense distances without meeting with a house or a human being. The success, however, which crowned their labours, was a rich reward for all their toils. Pleased with the gentleness and affability of the Brethren's manners, the Indians wished to be further acquainted with them, and with this view they came to visit them in their own habitation at Pilgerhut. Here the youth, from whom the missionaries had learned the language, declared the gospel to them in so striking a manner, and with so powerful an effect, that they not only spread the word abroad among their countrymen, but some of them, at length, erected huts for themselves in the neighbourhood. In the spring of 1748, several of their very

aged people were baptized as the first fruits of their mission, and in the course of a few months no less than forty were admitted to the same privilege. *(a)*

The settlement of the Indians with the Brethren, however, was attended with considerable difficulties. They were not only obliged to leave their houses and their friends; but, on their arrival, they had to clear the ground of wood, to plant it with cassabi, a root on which they chiefly depend for subsistence, and to make a hard shift during the first year until it came to maturity. Besides these difficulties, some malicious persons endeavoured to seduce the Indians; and when they failed in this attempt, they laboured to infuse suspicions into their minds, as if the missionaries, under the pretence of instructing them, designed only to make them slaves. They, at the same time, complained to the governor, of the concourse of Indians to the Brethren, as likely to terminate in a rebellion; and when this trick also failed of its effect, a clergyman in the colony was so base as to become their tool, in transmitting to Holland various accusations against the missionaries, with the view of putting a period to their benevolent labours. *(b)*

Unhappily the machinations of their enemies at last prevailed, and gave rise to measures which threatened the total subversion of the mission. The Brethren were required by government to take an oath and to carry arms, though hitherto they had been exempted from all such demands; they were ordered not to draw the Indians to them, nor to withhold them from the service of the Company, though, in fact, the poor creatures came for the most part of their own accord from a distant part of the country; and they are further enjoined, to urge the baptized to assist in the fisheries and the other labours of the colony. On this subject the Brethren were several times summoned before the council, and though their answers were very satisfactory, and the purity of their designs was evinced in the clearest manner, yet

(a) Crantz's History of the United Brethren. *(b)* Ibid.

they were told, that unless they complied with these and other requisitions, they must quit the country; and, in fact, Christopher Dehne, on returning two years afterwards from a visit to Europe, was sent back with the same vessel in which he came. Besides these disagreeable occurrences, the mission met with various other impediments. Owing to the failure of the crops, the Dutch soldiers came to buy cassabi from the Christian Indians, and though these were in want themselves, the villains not only took their roots from them by force, but wantonly destroyed such as were still unripe in the ground. These outrages the Indians bore at first with patience, but being several times repeated in the course of three years, they at last betook themselves to places in the wilderness, where they might plant their cassabi without being exposed to the same base ungenerous treatment. *(c)*

But though these circumstances were in many respects highly prejudicial to the interests of the mission, they were not altogether without their use. Though the Brethren were prohibited from travelling through the country, yet the dispersion of the Christian Indians spread the knowledge of the gospel farther than it had ever been preached by them. The Indians of a Spanish province on the river Orinoco sent a deputation to Pilgerhut, to make inquiry concerning the missionaries. The savages on the Corentyn sent an embassy on a similar errand, and many others came from various parts of the country, some of whom were considered as barbarians by the Arawacks themselves; yet of these, it is hoped, some were gained as trophies to the Redeemer. *(d)*

After several years, during which the mission was subjected to numerous and heavy trials, it was at length favoured with external peace and prosperity. As the planters now began to see that the labours of the Brethren among the savages were beneficial in promoting their own temporal interest, they no longer endeavoured to thwart, but rather to further, the undertaking. But unhappily while the mission

(c) Crantz's History of the United Brethren. *(d)* Ibid.

enjoyed outward prosperity, it declined internally. The baptized now amounted to about four hundred, most of whom resided in three little hamlets in the neighbourhood of the Brethren, though some also still lived at a distance in the wilderness, where they suffered no small injury in their spiritual interests. Besides, Theophilus Schumann, who had baptized the most of them, having been obliged to return to Europe in 1757, the congregation, during his absence, was not duly supplied; for though there were still several Brethren in the colony, yet as none of them were ordained, they could not administer Baptism or the Lord's Supper, a circumstance which greatly discouraged the young converts. At the same time, a contagious disorder broke out in the country, and committed terrible ravages both among the Europeans and the Indians; and this calamity was still further aggravated by a scarcity of provisions in the colony, which at length rose to the height of a famine, and drove many of the baptized from their hamlets, in search of more fruitful lands. As soon as these circumstances were known in Europe, measures were taken to send them an ordained missionary from Bethlehem in North America; but when he had sailed, the ship sprung a leak, and was obliged to return to port, nor could he afterwards find another opportunity of prosecuting his voyage. It was therefore judged necessary to send a written ordination to two of the Brethren who were still in the country, empowering them to administer the ordinances of Baptism and the Lord's Supper among such of the Indians as still remained. In this condition, Schumann found the colony on his return in 1760. Most of the Indians were either sick or had died, or were scattered abroad. Nearly one half of the colonists had been cut off by the contagious disorder, and, among others, the new governor, who had protected and supported the missionaries in their labours. It was not long, indeed, before Schumann himself followed him to the grave. This complication of disastrous circumstances discouraged the surviving Brethren, and produced some want of harmony among them, with regard to the method of carrying

on the work of the mission. Still, however, they endeavoured to collect again their scattered flock of Indians. *(e)*

At length, however, the mission to Berbice, the prospects of which were once so bright and fair, was unexpectedly brought to a period. In 1763, the Negroes in the colony rose in rebellion against their masters, murdered a great many of the White people, and laid waste almost the whole country. As a party of them were on their way to Pilgerhut, the missionaries, and such of the Indians as were still with them, were obliged to betake themselves to flight. They had not, indeed, proceeded far, when some of them, who returned to reconnoitre the movements of the rebels, discovered that they had already entered the settlement, and set it on fire. The Brethren remained for some weeks in the neighbouring woods, suffering innumerable privations and hardships, and in constant danger of their life from parties of incendiaries and murderers, who were strolling through the country. Happily, however, they escaped them almost miraculously, by taking a road through woods and swamps, unknown to the Indians themselves, and at length, after a perilous journey of some weeks, they arrived at the first plantations in Demarara, to which they might have travelled in two days by the usual tracts. Most of the missionaries afterwards proceeded to Pennsylvania, or to Europe. Two who remained were advised by the Brethren in Europe to go with the Indians to Surinam; but before they received notice of this, both of them died. Such was the rise, the progress, and the termination of the mission on the Rio de Berbice. *(f)*

Article II. Hope, on the River Corentyn.

In 1735, three of the Brethren were sent to Surinam with the view of establishing a settlement in that country, and of introducing the gospel among the Pagan inhabitants. Having

(e) Crantz's History of the United Brethren.
(f) Ibid. Period. Accounts, vol. iii. p. 214.

purchased a plantation in the neighbourhood of Paramaribo, the principal town in the colony, they laboured among the Negroes and Indians, and even among the Jews in that quarter, nor without some appearances of success. But, in consequence of certain dissensions among themselves, together with some other reasons, they, in 1745, determined to leave the colony: Some of them, accordingly, withdrew to Pennsylvania, and some to the neighbouring mission on the Rio de Berbice. *(a)*

In 1754, the Brethren were again invited from the Rio de Berbice to Surinam, and not only had the same privileges granted them as before, but a more extensive door was opened to them for labouring among the Heathen. Lewis Christopher Dehne, one of the first who was engaged in the mission to Berbice, now came to Surinam, accompanied by Mark Ralphs, another of the Brethren. Upon their arrival, they wrought in private at their trades, in the hope of at length finding an opportunity of settling among the Indians. Happily in these expectations they were not disappointed. Having entered into an agreement with the government, that some Brethren should fix their residence at Paramaribo, for the purpose of working at their trades and supplying the wants of the colony, they had a spot of land assigned them both on the river Corentyn and the river Sarameca, for the establishment of a mission among the Arawack Indians, and particularly with the view of collecting such of the baptized as had retreated from Berbice, in consequence of the various misfortunes they suffered in that colony. *(b)*

About 1757, Lewis Christopher Dehne, though he was now considerably advanced in life, and was almost always sickly, took up his residence on the river Corentyn When he first went thither, he was accompanied by some of the Indians, who even assisted him in building a hut; but afterwards they all left him, except one, with whom he led a

(a) Crantz's History of the United Brethren, p. 195.
(b) Ibid. p. 195.

very solitary life. After some time, however, his companion was taken ill of some disorder, and the Indian doctors, who passed by, told him, he would never recover, if he continued to live with the White man, who was under the power of the devil, and would likewise soon turn sick. Influenced by these representations, the poor creature, as soon as he was a little better, forsook his teacher, and retired among his own countrymen. But though the missionary was thus left alone, without either friend or companion, yet even in this wild solitude, he was contented and happy. "Our Saviour," he says, "was always with me, and comforted me with his gracious presence, so that I can truly say, I spent my time in happiness and peace." *(c)*

Some of the Indians, at first, entertained strong suspicions of his views, and even formed the barbarous design of putting him to death. The soldiers at the fort informed him of his danger, and invited him to come nearer them; but though he thanked them for their kindness, he determined to stand by his post, if he might be honoured to win only one soul to the Redeemer. One day, however, as he sat at dinner, about fifty of the Caribbee Indians landed from their canoes, and surrounded his hut, with the view of carrying their threats into execution. Some of them were armed with swords; some with tomahawks. This was truly an alarming sight. Nevertheless he went out to them, and bade them welcome. They then asked him, through the medium of an interpreter, Who gave him liberty to build on their land? To this he replied, The governor. They next enquired, What design he had in coming thither? To which he answered: "I have brethren on the other side of the great ocean, who having heard that many of the Indians on this river were ignorant of God, have, from the great affection they felt towards you, sent me to tell you of the love of God, and what he has done to save you." The chief then said: "Have you never heard that the Indians

(c) Period. Accounts, vol. i. p. 326.

intended to kill you?" "Yes," answered Dehne, "but I cannot believe it: You have among you some who have lived with me, and they can tell you, I am the friend of the Indians." To this the chief replied. "Yes, I have heard so: they say you are another sort of Christian than the White people in general." The missionary then said, "I am your friend: How is it that you come to kill me?" "We have done wrong," answered the chief. Every countenance now altered, and the Indians quickly dispersed. The chief, however, remained behind, and behaved in a very friendly manner; and as Dehne was then in want of provisions, he gave him a supply of cassabi, fish, &c. and on taking his leave, promised that he would often come and see him. Thus our missionary, by his magnanimous, yet temperate conduct, warded off the blow that threatened his life, and even converted his enemies into friends. *(d)*

During his stay in this solitary situation, Dehne was often in want of the common necessaries of life. Often he rose in the morning, ignorant whether he should taste a morsel the whole day; yet Providence so ordered it, that repeatedly when he could no longer bear the gnawings of hunger, some Indians arrived, who divided with him their handful of cassabi. Often too, when, in clearing the ground, he was overcome with fatigue, the Indians who passed by were so kind as to afford him assistance. He laboured, however, so hard, that he at length fell sick; and though one of the Brethren in Berbice set out immediately to visit him, yet for a considerable time he could get none of the Indians to carry him in their boats, for they were all afraid of going near a sick person, and particularly the poor missionary, as it was generally reported, that the devil lived with him. They even did all they could to dissuade his brother from visiting so dangerous a person. At length, however, he prevailed, and arrived to the assistance of his sick friend. *(e)*

(d) Period. Accounts, vol. i. p. 327, 329.
(e) Ibid, vol. i. p. 330, 332.

Besides suffering these various trials, our missionary was often in no small danger from the wild beasts of the forest, serpents, and other venomous creatures. A tyger for a long time kept watch near his hut, seeking an opportunity, no doubt, to seize the poor solitary inhabitant. Every night it roared most dreadfully; and though he regularly kindled a large fire in the neighbourhood before he went to bed, yet, as it often went out by the morning, it would have proved but a miserable defence, had not the Lord preserved him. The following circumstance is still more remarkable, and illustrates, in a singular manner, the care of God over his servants. Being one evening attacked with a paroxysm of fever, he resolved to go into his hut, and lie down in his hammock. Just, however, as he entered the door, he beheld a serpent descending from the roof upon him. In the scuffle which ensued, the creature stung or bit him in two or three different places; and, pursuing him closely, twined itself several times around his head and neck as tightly as possible, Expecting now to be stung or strangled to death, and being afraid lest his Brethren should suspect the Indians had murdered him, he, with singular presence of mind, wrote with chalk on the table: "A serpent has killed me." Suddenly, however, that promise of the Redeemer darted in his mind: "They shall take up serpents, and shall not be hurt." Encouraged by this declaration, he seized the creature with great force, tore it loose from his body, and flung it out of the hut. He then lay down in his hammock in tranquility and peace. *(f)*

After our missionary had lived in this solitary situation for about two years, he was joined by some others of the Brethren. The place now began to assume the appearance of a regular settlement. A meeting-house was erected for public worship, and a dwelling-house for the accommodation of the missionaries. Here they were often visited by the Indians, both acquaintances and strangers; and some of the

(f) Period. Accounts, vol. i. p. 827.

Christian converts from Berbice took up their residence with them. *(g)*

Meanwhile, some others of the Brethren had formed a settlement on the river Sarameca, and called the place Sharon. Here they had likewise erected a meeting-house, a dwelling-house, and some out-houses, laid out a plantation, and even begun to raise cattle. Many of the Indians collected to this place, among whom were a considerable number of those who had left Berbice. But its prosperity was of short duration. In 1761, a number of the free Negroes attacked the settlement, murdered several of the inhabitants, and totally destroyed their habitations. "As I was walking," says Lewis Christopher Dehne, who was now at Sharon, "conversing with one of my Brethren not far from our house, we were suddenly alarmed by the report of fire arms. We, therefore, resolved to return home, and see what was the matter; but we had not proceeded far, when we met Brother Kamm running to us, without hat or shoes, and pale as death. He told us the free Negroes had attacked our settlement, that one of our Brethren was wounded, and the house on fire; and that, if we returned, we should inevitably be murdered. We ventured, however, to go nearer; but were soon met by our Indians, one of whom had an arrow sticking in his back, and the blood was gushing from the wound. Having begged us to save our lives by flight, we followed them into the wood; but, in the midst of our terror and confusion, we missed the way, and, after rambling about till the evening, found ourselves on the same spot from which we had set out. The Negroes having, in the meanwhile, taken their departure, our Indians conducted us to the place where Brother Odenwald lay wounded, and still bleeding. Beholding him in this situation, I took a piece of my shirt and dressed his wound; and having saved one hammock, we put him into it, while we ourselves lay down to sleep on the wet ground, for it had rained all day, and we durst not kindle a

(g) Period. Accounts, vol. i. p. 832.

fire, lest the enemy should discover our retreat. On the return of one of the Brethren to the settlement next morning, he found our house burnt to ashes, all our little property destroyed, and three of our Indians lying dead on the ground, besides whom eleven others were carried away prisoners." *(h)*

Soon after this terrible disaster, three new missionaries arrived in Surinam; but, on coming to Sharon, they found the two Brethren who remained at that place sick. It appears they had been confined to bed, one after another, for near a whole year, without medical aid, and without any other food than cassabi and water. As their distress had been so great, their joy was so much the greater on the arrival of these new assistants. But how dark and mysterious are the ways of Providence! Two of the new missionaries were carried off by death within eight days, and the other followed them soon after to the grave. Deeply as this intelligence affected the Brethren in Europe, many of them cheerfully offered to go and supply the ranks of those who had thus so unexpectedly fallen; and, in a very short time, several of them accordingly sailed for Surinam. *(i)*

By degrees many of the Indians returned to the settlement; and though they were frequently alarmed by reports of a new attack from the Negroes, and often, on this account, dispersed again, yet, at length, they learned to disregard these frightful tales, which were circulated by their enemies merely to distress them. As the missionaries, however, were only four in number, and often sick, it was extremely difficult for them to rebuild their houses, and repair their plantations. Besides, on a voyage of the Indians to Paramaribo, they lost all their boats at once in the sea, though providentially the whole of those on board were saved. *(k)*

In the course of a few years, however, the mission in this quarter began to recover from these various disasters, and

(h) Period. Accounts, vol. i. p. 326, 332.—Crantz's History of the United Brethren.

(i) Crantz's History of the United Brethren. *(k)* Ibid.

to assume a more promising aspect. Not only did the Indians, who had originally belonged to it, return, but many of those who had been baptized in Berbice found their way to it, and even persuaded some of their friends to accompany them. The missionaries now took fresh courage, re-organized the congregation, and appointed several of the converts as helpers among their countrymen, particularly among such as lived at a distance. *(l)*

As the district round the Corentyn was on the borders of Berbice, the Indians in that quarter did not think themselves safe from the Negro rebels, who, in 1763, as we have already mentioned, rose in arms against their masters; and therefore they fled further into the country. The Brethren, for the same reason, retired to Paramaribo; but, as the rebellion was soon suppressed, they returned to their settlement at Ephraim the following year. As their house, however, was in a low situation, and exposed to inundations, they removed it to a heigth not far from the Mepenna, on which most of the Indians resided who had fled from Berbice. Some of these, indeed had now grown wild; yet in many of them the influence of the gospel was still apparent. Besides labouring among them, the Brethren did not cease travelling among the savages; and the knowledge of the gospel was spread still further through the country by means of their Indians visitors, as well as by the baptized. Encouraged by these circumstances, the Brethren called their new settlement, which was situated on the left bank of the Corentyn, by the auspicious name of Hope. *(m)*

Of the history of this mission, for a number of years, we possess little or no information. It does not appear, however, to have been attended with much success, for in 1789 the number of the baptized amounted only to eighty-three, and even many of these were not the most regular in their conduct. Most of the deviations, indeed, with which the converts were chargeable, might be traced to their intercourse

(l) Crantz's History of the United Brethren. *(m)* Ibid.

with their Pagan countrymen, who spared no pains to seduce them to attend their parties of diversion, an object in which they were too often successful. With the view of checking this evil, the Brethren, ever since the commencement of the mission, had endeavoured to prevail on such, at least, as lived near Hope, to settle on their premises; and as the baptized had often objected that there was no ground on their plantations fit for raising cassabi, they now made application to a chief for permission to them, to plant it in his neighbourhood. This request he immediately granted; and, pointing out a considerable tract of forest land, said, "This ground God has given to me, as he gave that at Hope to thee. Thus I am the rightful proprietor of it. Now, as I have not created it, and thou canst use it, I deliver it over to thee freely. Thy people may come and clear it; the sooner the better." He then addressed the Indians in a very friendly manner, and expressed his satisfaction at their coming to plant in his neighbourhood; assuring them, at the same time, that no devil or evil spirit haunted the tract of land he had given them. *(n)*

In consequence of this new arrangement, the Indians began to build cottages in the neighbourhood of Hope, to leave off their roving habits, and to cultivate the arts of social life. Besides making great improvements in the cultivation of the land, they began, by the permission of government, to prepare all kinds of timber for building, and to convey it to the colony of Berbice, from whence they received considerable orders. They also made a kind of hats from the leaves of a certain species of palm, which they sold to Pagan Indians and Negroes, as well as to the White people, who found them very useful, as they were much lighter, cooler and stronger, than the common hats. "We are delighted" say the missionaries, "to see all our people usefully employed. Thus, one day, fifteen Brethren were preparing materials for building: almost all the Sisters

(n) Period. Accounts vol. i. p. 43, 99.

were planting; five were repairing the roofs; four were planting Indian corn in our garden; three girls were making hammocks of bass; and two Brethren were copying some texts and hymns in the Arawack language. In visiting the carpenters, we found them conversing on our Saviour's having, while on earth, wrought at their trade, a circumstance which gave us much pleasure." *(o)*

In August 1795, two of the missionaries, together with four of the Indians, experienced a remarkable deliverance at sea, when in the most imminent danger of being drowned. In conveying the timber and other articles they had prepared, to Berbice, they often ran great hazard in their small canoes; and therefore they at length purchased a large boat for this purpose. But in the very first voyage they made in her to the colony, she all of a sudden became leaky, after they had proceeded a considerable way, and filled with water so rapidly, that before they could run her ashore, she sunk to the bottom. At first they clung to a cask fastened to the boat, and then to the mast, part of which was above the surface of the water. In this perilous situation they remained for no less than eight hours; but at last, when it was after midnight, they contrived to get to shore, two and two at a time, in a small canoe they had providentially taken with them. In the morning the missionaries, and a little boy (for more the canoe would not hold,) set out to return to Hope, and after rowing for about four-and-twenty hours in their wet clothes, without any covering for their heads, and even without food, they reached that place to the great astonishment of their Brethren. It happened very providentially that all their efforts to get out to sea had been frustrated by contrary winds which kept them near the shore; for as the boat sunk within less than five minutes after the leak was discovered, they must inevitably have perished, had the accident happened at a distance from land. *(p)*

(o) Period. Acc. vol. i. p. 117, 153. *(p)* Ibid. vol. ii. p. 259.

The number of Indians under the Brethren's care was, in the meanwhile, considerably augmented. The inhabitants of the settlement at Hope, had now increased to about three hundred, besides whom there were many others who still lived scattered in the woods. In the year 1800, the baptized alone amounted to one hundred and sixty-nine, and of these eighty-four were communicants. Among the many advantages attending the introduction of the gospel and the arts of social life among them, it was none of the least, that in sickness they were much better taken care of than their Heathen neighbours. It is a singular fact, that in epidemical diseases, eight of the Pagans died for one Christian. *(q)*

In August 1806, the whole settlement including the church, the missionaries dwellings, and the houses of the Indians, were burnt to the ground. The fire once kindled, ran along the roofs which were thatched with leaves, with such prodigious fury, that there was no possibility of checking its progress. By this means, not only their houses, but all their garden tools, the stores of the Indians, the tackling and rigging of their boat, and various other useful implements, were totally destroyed. The fire began about two o'clock in the afternoon, while the missionaries were taking some refreshment, and there was too much reason to suspect that it was kindled by incendiaries, as several attempts of the same kind had been made some days before, which being discovered were frustrated in time. *(r)*

While the external circumstances of the settlement were so disastrous, its internal state was not more flourishing. Most, if not all of the Indians belonging to the congregation, whose practice corresponded with their profession, had, within a short time, been seized with an epidemical disorder, and died rejoicing in the Redeemer. Such as still survived, so far from being truly religious, were disorderly, dissolute, and refractory, and even manifested a spirit of enmity to the

(q) Period. Accounts, vol. iii. p. 141 ; vol. ii. p. 259.
(r) Ibid. vol. iv. p. 45.

gospel. Discouraged by these circumstances, the Brethren, about two years after the burning of the settlement, abandoned the place, and relinquished the mission. *(s)*

This event having occasioned deep regret among the Brethren's congregation in Europe, the missionaries at Paramaribo were commissioned to avail themselves of the first opportunity, of collecting the scattered remains of the Arawack flock, and of renewing the mission among them. Several of the Indians themselves who occasionally visited that town, expressed a wish that the Brethren would return among them, and declared that many of those who, by their dissolute refractory behaviour, had contributed to the breaking up of the congregation, now repented of their conduct, and would value the means of religious instruction more highly than ever. Influenced by these considerations, one of the Brethren from Paramaribo proceeded, in September 1810, to that quarter of the country, and spared no pains in visiting the Indians, dispersed as they were, through the woods and the wilderness. In the course of this excursion he learned, that of the late inhabitants of Hope, there were still about two hundred living. He himself spoke with near eighty of the baptized, many of whom bewailed the loss of their teachers, and expressed an earnest desire that they would return and dwell among them. *(t)*

In June 1812, William Christian Genth, and John Hafa, two new missionaries who had lately arrived in Surinam, proceeded to the river Corentyn to renew the mission among the Arawack Indians in that quarter of the country. On their arrival they found a house ready for them, built by one of the baptized, in expectation of the return of their teachers. It was situated about three English miles from the old settlement Hope, and on a hill about a mile distant lived about thirty of the baptized Indians. *(u)* Such are the

(s) Period. Accounts, vol iv. p. 306 ; vol. v. p. 243.
(t) Ibid. vol. v. p. 149.
(u) Ibid. vol. v. p. 242, 281.

latest accounts we have received of the mission on the river Corentyn.

Article III. Bambey on the River Sarameca.

The government of Surinam having made peace with the free Negroes * in their neighbourhood, and wisely judging that the conversion of them and their children to Christianity would be the most effectual means of putting a period to those cruelties and depredations which they often committed on the colonists, made application to the church of the Brethren to establish a mission among them. In consequence of this request, that veteran missionary Lewis Christopher Dehne, who had lately come to Europe, returned to Surinam, in 1765, accompanied by Thomas Jones, and R. Stolle, two of the Brethren. Upon their arrival they were presented, by a deputy of the council, to the captains of ten or twelve villages of the Negroes, and were at first received by them with much friendship. Each of the chiefs wished to have one of them, thinking it an honour, perhaps, to have a European residing with him, but the Brethren judged it best, at least for the present, to remain together. They promised, however, to visit them all, and, with this view, took up their abode in the centre of their villages. But friendly as the Negroes appeared at first, yet no sooner did the missionaries explain to them the design of their coming, than the poor creatures set up a most hideous pitiable howl, terrified lest their idols should be provoked if they had any thing to do with the great God, and they appointed, a few days after, prayers and offerings to be made,

* Negroes who had ran away from their masters and taken refuge in the woods, where they lived at liberty, and from whence they often made depredations on the inhabitants of the colony.

with the view of appeasing the wrath of their offended deities. *(a)*

Among a people so blind and superstitious, the prospect of success was certainly not the most promising. For the present the Brethren were obliged to rest satisfied with opening a school for teaching the children to read and write, and being encouraged by some favourable appearances among several of the boys, they proceeded with pleasure in their labours, in the hope of ultimately making, through means of them, an impression on their parents; *(b)* nor were their expectations of success entirely disappointed.

In 1770, a general awakening began among the Negroes, and promised, at first, an abundant harvest. The power of the gospel was particularly manifest in John Arabini, one of their chiefs. Though persecuted by his countrymen, and threatened with the vengeance of their gods, yet had he the fortitude to withstand the one and to despise the other. Having often heard the missionaries declare that the objects of their worship, which consisted chiefly of wooden images, large trees, heaps of sand, stones, crocodiles, &c. could neither help nor hurt a man, he took his idol, which happened to be a staff curiously decorated with beads, and burned it in the fire. He afterwards went one morning with his gun to the river, where the crocodile or alligator, which was said to be the god of the village, used to have its haunt; and on discovering the creature, he addressed it in the following manner: "I mean to shoot thee: Now, if thou art a god, my bullet will do thee no harm; but if thou art only a creature, it will kill thee." He accordingly fired his piece and killed the animal on the spot. *(c)*

Arabini having soon after been baptized, his family were mightily enraged at this, and sent for a priest from a neigh-

(a) Crantz's History of the United Brethren. Period. Accounts, vol. ii p. 414.

(b) Crantz's History of the United Brethren.

(c) Period. Accounts, vol. ii. p. 95, 417.

bouring village, informing him that the chief had worshipped a strange god. The priest immediately came to the house of the missionaries, armed with a loaded gun and a naked sword, which he brandished over the head of one of the Brethren, saying: "Who has given you power to convert and baptize our people?" To which the missionary with courage, yet with calmness, replied: "Who art thou? Art thou stronger than God? Canst thou hinder his work?" To this the priest made no reply: He spoke not another word, but instantly went away. *(d)*

The prospect of success among the Negroes, pleasing as it seemed, was but of short duration. The general desire to hear the word died away; and in most of them it produced no permanent fruit. The women, in particular, were exceedingly devoted to idolatry, and were most bitter enemies of the gospel: They not only refused to listen to it themselves; but opposed the conversion of the men by all the arts in their power. It was therefore a singular circumstance in the history of this mission, when, in 1780, three of the Negro women embraced the gospel and were baptized, one of whom was the wife of John Arabini, the chief who was first converted. On the whole, however, the success of the Brethren, at Bambey, has been small. From the commencement of the mission to 1797, a period of thirty-two years, no more than forty-nine of the Negroes received baptism; and at that time the congregation consisted only of forty members, namely thirty-one baptized, and nine candidates for baptism. *(e)*

While the mission among the free Negroes has been so unfruitful in respects of converts, it has been very expensive in that valuable article, the life of missionaries. Owing to the extreme unhealthiness of the climate, most of the Brethren have suffered severely from sickness; and, in some instances, they have followed each other in quick succession

(d) Period. Accounts, vol. ii. p. 97.
(e) Ibid. vol. ii. p. 419.

to the grave. From the commencement of the mission to the year 1797, twenty-one Brethren and eight Sisters were employed in this settlement, and of these no fewer than nineteen died, either on the spot, or soon after their return. *(f)* *

In May 1800, one of the missionaries named Mehr had a narrow escape from death under a form still more frightful than the ravages of disease. He and several of the Negroes having gone to a creek at some distance, to prepare some cedar planks cut two months before, they carried with them a live tortoise, which they meant to kill and make a meal of in the wood. This creature they tied to one of the posts of their huts, while the Negroes went to a place about a mile distant, to catch some fish. This they do by means of a certain species of wood, which being cut small, beaten to powder, and strewed on the water, stupifies the fish, and makes them soon appear as dead, swiming on the surface. Meanwhile the missionary was employed in preparing the cedar planks; but being at length overcome with fatigue, he lay down in the shade, near the tortoise, and slept about an hour. During this time a tyger came to the spot, tore the tortoise off the pole, and dragged it into the wood, while

(f) Period. Accounts, vol. ii. p. 420.

* As a further proof of the great expence of human life, which this and the other missions in South America occasion, as well as of the zeal which reigns among the United Brethren, the following cicumstances are not unworthy of notice. In 1800, three missionaries sent to Surinam died shortly after their arrival in that country. To supply their places, three others, one of them married, sailed for that colony, and landed in safety February 1801. One of the single Brethren, however, died within nine days after their arrival, and the wife of the married Brother in about three months. Yet Brethren and Sisters were soon found ready to go and fill the ranks of those who had thus so prematurely fallen. So early as the month of December, that same year, a company of five persons sailed from London for Surinam. *Period. Accounts*, vol. iii. p. 45.

Mehr was lying fast asleep near at hand. On awakening, and perceiving the danger he had been in, he was much struck with the merciful deliverance, and as the Negroes returned soon after, and brought with them a large supply of fish, the tortoise was never missed. *(g)*

Of late years, the mission at Bambey has a very unpromising aspect, and has even been threatened with utter extinction. The Pagan Negroes being animated with a spirit of violent opposition to government, seemed determined to expel the Brethren out of the country, because they were the agents for transacting business between them and the colonists. Even the small flock of Christian Negroes were partly intimidated, partly inclined to side with their countrymen, or, at least, to keep on friendly terms with them. More lately, however, the wild ungovernable spirit which seemed to possess the whole tribe of the free Negroes, has in some degree abated: and the baptized have begun to see how much they would have lost, had the Brethren been obliged to leave them. The missionaries have given up the office of agent for government, which they had held for a number of years, so that this will no longer be a source of trouble or uneasiness to them; though, by relinquishing it, the expences of the mission are necessarily much encreased. *(h)*

Article IV. Paramaribo.

Agreeably to the Brethren's engagement with government, that some members of their church should settle at Paramaribo, and work at their trades to assist in supplying the wants of the colony,* several of them have commonly resided in that place. Here they have not only contributed

(g) Period. Accounts, vol. iii. p. 144.

(h) Ibid. vol. v. p. 79, 151, 194.

* See page 498.

to the support of the missionaries in the other settlements by the labour of their hands, and in facilitating the correspondence between them and the Brethren in Europe, but they have laboured with great faithfulness and zeal among the Negro slaves in that quarter, and have collected a very considerable number of them into a Christian church. In 1812, their congregation consisted of five hundred and seven members, besides candidates for baptism and catechumens; and of this number, no fewer than four hundred were communicants. *(i)*

At Sommelsdyke, a place a few miles distant from Paramaribo, some missionaries also reside for the purpose of preaching the gospel among the slaves on the neighbouring plantations. Here they have likewise a congregation, but it is by no means so large as that in the capital of the colony. In 1798, the number of baptized Negroes connected with it, amounted only to sixty-six. *(k)*

(i) A Succinct Account of the Mission of the United Brethren, 1771, p. 15. New-York Missionary Magazine, vol. i. p. 309. Period. Accounts, vol. v. p. 363.

(k) New-York Missionary Magazine, vol. i. p. 309. Period. Accounts, vol. ii. p. 322.

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NEW-YORK:
Printed by Thomas P. Low.

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